

Becoming
QUALITATIVE
RESEARCHERS
AN INTRODUCTION

FIFTH EDITION



CORRINE GLESNE

FIFTH EDITION

BECOMING QUALITATIVE RESEARCHERS

An Introduction

CORRINE GLESNE

PEARSON

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Hoboken
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montreal Toronto
Delhi Mexico City São Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

Vice President and Editorial Director: Jeffery W. Johnston
Vice President and Publisher: Kevin M. Davis
Editorial Assistant: Caitlin Griscom
Executive Field Marketing Manager: Krista Clark
Senior Product Marketing Manager: Christopher Barry
Project Manager: Lauren Carlson
Program Manager: Carrie Mollette
Procurement Specialist: Carol Melville
Cover Designer: Carie Keller
Cover Art: Caroline Manheimer
Full-Service Project Management: Aptara[®], Inc.
Composition: Aptara[®], Inc.
Printer/Binder: Courier - Westford
Cover Printer: Courier - Westford
Text Font: Palatino LT Std

Credits and acknowledgments for material borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on the appropriate page within the text.

Every effort has been made to provide accurate and current Internet information in this book. However, the Internet and information posted on it are constantly changing, so it is inevitable that some of the Internet addresses listed in this textbook will change.

Copyright © 2016, 2011, 2006 by Pearson Education, Inc. or its affiliates. All Rights Reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America. This publication is protected by Copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or likewise. For information regarding permissions, request forms, and the appropriate contacts within the Pearson Education Global Rights & Permissions department, please visit www.pearsoned.com/permissions.

PEARSON and ALWAYS LEARNING are exclusive trademarks in the U.S. and/or other countries owned by Pearson Education, Inc. or its affiliates.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Glesne, Corrine.

Becoming qualitative researchers : an introduction / Corrine Glesne.

pages cm

ISBN 978-0-13-385939-3—ISBN 0-13-385939-8

1. Social sciences—Methodology. I. Title.

H61.G555 2014

300.72—dc23

2014031201

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

PEARSON

ISBN 10: 0-13-385939-8
ISBN 13: 978-0-13-385939-3

About the Author



A qualitative research methodologist and educational anthropologist, Corrine Glesne has conducted ethnographic research in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Costa Rica, Mexico, and the United States. Her text *Becoming Qualitative Researchers* (in its various editions) has been translated into several languages. Corrine was a professor at the University of Vermont for seventeen years. Later, as a traveling professor with an international educational program, she taught and accompanied undergraduates to India, the Philippines, Mexico, New Zealand, and England. In 2011, she embarked on a year-long, multisite qualitative study of the “exemplary” academic art museum for the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, resulting in her book *The Exemplary Museum: Art and Academia* (2013). Corrine did her doctoral work at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her home is now in Asheville, North Carolina.

Introduction: A Sense of Things to Come

In qualitative research, you translate life into text. It is not an exact translation, a mirror image, but a product *inspired*—or breathed into—by the lives you observe and by what you, as researchers, bring to the setting and research interactions. A friend told me about a conversation she had with her niece Emily, who was taking a required humanities class in literature. Emily had had to read a poem about a woman and a storm, and then write an essay. “The poem made me think about the big storms here in Nebraska, and so I wrote about those storms coming across the prairies,” Emily said. She added, “I got it all wrong.” When her aunt asked her to explain, Emily sighed, “Did you know that a storm in a poem means an affair? I missed the whole point.”

Emily brought her experiences of storms in Nebraska to the poem—that, and her very limited experience with poetry. If she reads (and writes) more poetry and receives additional instruction in poetic interpretation, Emily probably will write very different essays. Although not necessarily right or wrong, some portrayals can be better informed than others. This book is meant to help you become better informed about translating your research experiences—your observations and interviews—through analysis and interpretation into informed and useful texts.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

“What can be involved in updating a textbook on research?” my nonacademic friends continue to ask. “How is it possible that the process for doing research changes?”

I reply that methodological perspectives continually change, specifically in qualitative research, an approach noted for its variety and complexity, particularly during these times when issues of difference, plurality, justice, and meaning demand our attention. When the first edition of this text was published (1992), relatively few qualitative methods texts were available, particularly in disciplines other than anthropology. Twenty-three years later, the qualitative research literature is vast, with thick handbooks on topics barely imagined in the early 1990s. This development is exciting, signaling that people in multiple disciplines have turned to qualitative inquiry as a means for exploring and understanding aspects of social life. In the process, however, approaches to and critiques of qualitative methods have proliferated. This expansion is overwhelming for a writer of an introductory text.

One text cannot address all issues that are now part of qualitative research lore. What I can do is to clarify where this text is situated among the array of qualitative theories and methodologies, so you, the reader, are better informed about what you might be getting into through reading this book. I point the way to other books and authors that will help you deepen your knowledge of topics only mentioned or briefly described in this text. I also try to reflect on the methods and procedures discussed in this text and present ways in which they are embraced and challenged in theory and in practice. I also introduce several newer aspects of qualitative research (such as arts based research) that are less discussed in other introductory texts.

Some of the specific changes to this text since the last edition (2011) include the following:

1. New textual narratives, figures, tables, and visual imagery have been added throughout the book to exemplify or stimulate thought about the accompanying discussions.
2. To better inform readers about the array of qualitative methodological possibilities, this edition includes discussion of more methodologies within the text, as well as in an appendix.
3. Chapter 2 has been reorganized and expanded to better assist novice researchers through the steps of creating research proposals.
4. Chapter 3 includes more discussion about fieldnotes, along with new examples.
5. In Chapter 4, the section on developing interview questions has been expanded.
6. Chapter 6 on research ethics has been reorganized and extended to address the history and concerns of Institutional Review Boards. It discusses the codes of ethics of various disciplines in the United States and elsewhere.
7. Chapter 7 on data analysis pays more attention to coding procedures, along with new examples.
8. Chapter 8 on writing up research includes discussion on research representation and explores some of the issues associated with the “crisis of representation.”
9. Chapter 9 has been revised to focus on arts based research, including examples of various creative ways to approach and/or represent qualitative work.
10. A section on presenting at conferences and an expanded discussion of publishing have been added to the last chapter to encourage new researchers to widely share their work.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE TEXT

Chapters tend to compartmentalize thoughts, giving the impression that data collection, for example, is distinct from data analysis. Although the activities of qualitative inquiry tend to be ongoing and overlapping, I use chapters to focus

upon one research aspect at a time. My guiding principle throughout these pages has been to create a book I would want to use as a primary text to help others learn to conduct qualitative inquiry. The book therefore guides you through the research process, with separate chapters on philosophical foundations (Chapter 1), research design (Chapter 2), participant observation and document collection (Chapter 3), interviewing (Chapter 4), data analysis (Chapter 7), and writing (Chapter 8). Other chapters focus on issues of field relationships, rapport, and reflexivity (Chapter 5); research ethics (Chapter 6); and the relatively new area of arts based research (Chapter 9). The final chapter both summarizes and looks forward to ways in which the research and its process may be applied and helpful to you and to others.

Some reviewers have suggested that the order of the chapters be rearranged so that all the “foundational” ones come first (i.e., the chapters on philosophical foundations (Chapter 1), design (Chapter 2), field relationships (Chapter 5), and ethics (Chapter 6). This makes logical sense and the book could easily be read or taught in that order. For me and some of my colleagues, however, the semester time-limit and our desire to include the assignment of a pilot project to accompany the text imposes the order of the chapters as they are. By jumping into reading about research methods after the chapter on research design, students can more quickly conceive a plan for a pilot project, begin gaining access, and start scheduling times for data collection while the class reads and discusses chapters on field relationships and research ethics.

The chapters pose subjects, questions, and quandaries with which students, colleagues, and I have struggled. As students in my classes have noted, my most frequent answer to questions raised by qualitative inquiry is “It depends.” In class discussions and in this book, I provide no solutions or absolutes. My goal is to raise questions, thereby indicating what is problematic, and to suggest guidelines for developing your own judgment in order to learn from and manage the complex issues you may encounter.

Because many of you will be working on theses or dissertations, I periodically address some of the particular problems that you might encounter. Many of the text examples are drawn from educational settings, but the book is not limited to the context of schools nor to the needs of scholars of education. The sources of examples are the experiences of students, my own inquiries, the research of colleagues, including Alan Peshkin (who I invited to be coauthor of the first edition), and published works. I am most indebted to my students; they have taught me much about qualitative inquiry. With permission, I identify their examples by their first names, or, for some, by pseudonyms.

From my perspective, acquiring the skill and understanding for conducting qualitative inquiry has three dimensions: reading, doing, and reflecting. Preferably, all three are done simultaneously so that the outcomes of each continually interact. Read widely and deeply about your topic *and* about the conduct of inquiry throughout the research process; you might want to begin with the “Recommended Readings” sections at the ends of the chapters. Practice qualitative research techniques on problems of significance to you as you read about doing qualitative research.

Ideally, the course is an occasion for supervised pilot studies. Reflect before and after each step in your research journey (from developing your research statement to completing your research report) by keeping a field journal and by holding discussions with peers, supervisors, and research participants.

Keeping a field journal that describes your practices and, no less important, your critical reflections on these practices is crucial for doing good research. The field journal, in effect, becomes a personal methods book that contains the insights that result from the interaction of reading, reflecting, and doing research. Learning to reflect on your behavior and thoughts, as well as on the phenomenon under study, creates a means for continuously becoming a better researcher. *Becoming* a better researcher captures the dynamic nature of the process. Conducting research, like teaching or dancing, can be improved; it cannot be mastered.

PERSONAL POSITIONINGS: MY METHODOLOGICAL GROUND(ING)

My background and experience is in ethnographic and case study research, as well as various forms of action research, including participatory action research and collaborative research. I have lived and worked in various parts of the world and have maintained an interest in theories of development and globalization. Even though I attempt to inform myself on inquiry paradigms and methodologies of qualitative research with which I am less familiar, I cannot do justice to them all or even to a portion of them. This section, therefore, delineates some boundaries for this text.

This book is rooted in the interpretive tradition of qualitative inquiry. Although I briefly introduce and make reference throughout the text to critical and postmodern/poststructural traditions, this book is not meant to be a methods book for those seeking to do research within those paradigms—although they may find some of the advice in this text fitting and useful. Within the interpretive tradition, different research approaches developed historically, geographically, and by discipline, including sociology (symbolic interactionism, grounded theory), psychology (phenomenology), and anthropology (ethnography). *Ethnography* is perhaps the term that is most widely used, whether correctly or not, to refer to research in the interpretive tradition. It also carries with it a lot of baggage in its ties to colonial anthropology. Nonetheless, the research methods associated with ethnography (fieldwork, interviews, observations, document collection) are used in many other qualitative methodologies (although expectations for fieldwork, kinds of interview questions, analysis techniques, and so forth can vary widely). This book focuses on methods used in ethnographic research, including current critiques, challenges, and changes.

I believe in the wisdom of local people, whether in a farming community in Illinois or a barrio in Mexico City; I believe that there are “organic” intellectuals everywhere, working to keep traditions alive and also to shape a changing future. I am partial to inquiry approaches that involve research participants

in the work, particularly in identifying the overarching research question and, thereby, in designing research that will be useful to the people involved. I also believe that much is to be learned from conventional qualitative methods, that you can learn and practice basic techniques and then adapt them as your skills and inclinations guide you. This book, therefore, is meant to be an introductory text to the ethnographic research techniques of data collection, analysis, and writing. Along the way, however, I have added sections that are meant to probe into and complicate some of these practices.

Communicating the process of qualitative inquiry provides me some of the same kinds of rewards that teaching swimming did years ago. At the end of a semester (or, better, two semesters), students no longer fear to jump in, nor are they at risk of drowning in data. With careful, sure strokes, they stride through data collection, analysis, and writing—albeit not without the occasional stormy day. Students gain useful skills that can serve them beyond the thesis and dissertation stages. In return, I have learned much from students about both the process of doing qualitative research and their topical areas. They educate me, for example, about the social construction of developmental disabilities or about the workings of effective partner team-teaching in middle schools. I believe that qualitative research can provide a forum for reflection and communication that results in better programs, gives voice to those who have been marginalized, and assists researchers, participants, and readers to see the world in new ways. For comments, suggestions, or questions, please contact me at ceglesne@yahoo.com.

Corrine Glesne

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments for this edition begin with Kevin Davis of Pearson, who convinced me to revise the text yet again. Although reluctant, I know now that he was right. Being institutionally unaffiliated, I thank him, too, for making available texts that were useful as I reworked the book. I also appreciate the support of Carrie Mollette who was quick to answer my sundry questions, and Margaret Ritchie for her care in copyediting. Many thanks to the reviewers for their suggestions and insight: Lynne Hamer, University of Toledo; Michelle Lorraine Jay, University of South Carolina; Kimberly A. Truong, Northeastern University; and Anita Wadhwa, Harvard University.

I am continuously grateful to Kelly Clark/Keefe, teacher extraordinaire and wonderfully creative friend, who keeps me supplied with captivating artwork and with intriguing examples and thoughts. In addition to thanking colleagues and prior students who graciously allowed me to use their words or photographs in previous editions and that remain in this edition, I want to specifically acknowledge those who have provided images or words appearing for the first time in this edition. Heartfelt thanks to Jane Amundsen, Anna Fariello, Caroline Manheimer, Massimo Schuster, and Jonathan Treat, who provided images and, in Anna's and Jonathan's cases, examples from their work for use in this text. Jacob Diaz, Eve Krassner, and Fran Oates kindly allowed me to include selections from their own research, providing inspiration for others. I am indebted to Max Marmor and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for supporting my desire to repurpose data and research notes from the academic art museum study as examples in this book. I am grateful as well for how my involvement in the museum project whetted my interest in museum education and art history and led me to access images of art from open-source resources of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the National Gallery of Art for inclusion in this book.

In addition to those who have contributed images and examples, others have assisted me in a variety of ways. Thanks to fiber artist and friend Caroline Manheimer, whose work graces the cover and who often enticed me away from the computer for a walk or to share a meal. Appreciation goes to friend Carol Lawrence, who eased my worries by responding to several chapters I was finding particularly troublesome. In the midst of dissertation work at a university many states away, Skip Grieser e-mailed to thank me for writing the book and suddenly found himself with the added job of responding to some draft chapters for the new edition. Rod Webb provided sage advice and support. Marleen Pugach, Kelly Clark/Keefe, and Caroline White are my dependable, responsive, and brilliant go-to's when I'm struggling with any sort of question or dilemma. I am grateful.

Brief Contents

CHAPTER 1

Meeting Qualitative Inquiry 1

CHAPTER 2

Research Design and Other Prestudy Tasks: Doing What
Is Good for You 29

CHAPTER 3

Being There: Developing Understanding Through Participant
Observation, Documents, and Visual Research 64

CHAPTER 4

Making Words Fly: Developing Understanding Through
Interviewing 96

CHAPTER 5

Field Relations: Researcher Roles, Rapport, and
Reflexivity 131

CHAPTER 6

But Is It Ethical? Considering What Is “Right” 158

CHAPTER 7

Finding Your Story: Data Analysis 183

CHAPTER 8

Crafting Your Story: Writing Up Qualitative Data 218

CHAPTER 9

Improvising a Song of the World: Arts Based Research 243

CHAPTER 10

The Continuing Search 271

Contents

Introduction: A Sense of Things to Come iv

Acknowledgments ix

CHAPTER 1

Meeting Qualitative Inquiry 1

BEGINNINGS 1

SEARCHING 3

WAYS OF KNOWING: PARADIGMS OF RESEARCH 5

Logical Positivism/Logical Empiricism and Postempiricism 7 / Interpretivism 8 /
Critical Theory 10 / Postmodernism/Postcolonialism/Poststructuralism 13 /
Mixed Methods 16

METHODOLOGY, INQUIRY QUESTIONS, AND METHODS: AN INTERACTION 17

INTERPRETIVE TRADITIONS OF QUALITATIVE INQUIRY 19

Ethnography 21 / Autoethnography 23 / Action Research 24 / Possibilities of
Qualitative Inquiry 26

WHAT IS TO COME 27

RECOMMENDED READINGS 27

EXERCISES 28

CHAPTER 2

**Research Design and Other Prestudy Tasks: Doing What
Is Good for You** 29

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT 30

THE RESEARCH TOPIC 32

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 34

Seeking Relevant Literature 34 / Using Theory 35 / Creating a Framework for
Concepts 37

RESEARCH PURPOSES 38

RESEARCH STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS 40**SELECTION OF RESEARCH METHODS 44****SELECTION OF SITE AND PARTICIPANTS 46**

Selection of Site 46 / Selection of Study Participants and Locations for Observations 50

PLANNING FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS AND TIME 53

Trustworthiness 53 / The Time Frame 54

MEETING PARTICIPANTS: ACCESS, RESEARCH SUMMARIES, AND THE PILOT 57

Gaining and Maintaining Access 57 / The Lay Summary 58 / The Pilot Study 61

RECOMMENDED READINGS 62**EXERCISES 62**

CHAPTER 3**Being There: Developing Understanding Through Participant Observation, Documents, and Visual Research 64****THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION CONTINUUM 65****PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION GOALS 67****THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION PROCESS 68**

Early Days of Fieldwork 69 / Observations 70 / Fieldnotes 72

FIELDWORK ALLIES: DOCUMENTS, ARTIFACTS, AND VISUAL DATA 81

Documents and Artifacts 81 / Visual Data: Photography, Video, Maps, and Diagrams 85

MARGINAL OR COMPANION? 90**RECOMMENDED READINGS 94****EXERCISES 94**

CHAPTER 4**Making Words Fly: Developing Understanding Through Interviewing 96****DEVELOPING QUESTIONS 98**

Question Content 98 / Shaping Interview Questions 99 / Revising and Piloting Interview Questions 105

CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEW 109

Where? When? How Long? How Often? 109 / The Interactive Nature of Interviewing 111 / Probing 114

RECORDING, TRANSCRIBING, AND TRACKING	116
Recording	116 / Transcribing 118 / Tracking 120
SOME TYPICAL PROBLEMS IN INTERVIEWING	121
FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS	123
A CRITIQUE OF THE CONVENTIONAL INTERVIEW	126
RECOMMENDED READINGS	129
EXERCISES	129

CHAPTER 5

Field Relations: Researcher Roles, Rapport, and Reflexivity 131

RESEARCHER ROLES AND PREDISPOSITIONS	131
Anticipatory	133 / A Learner 134 /
Analytic	134 / Reassuring 135 / Grateful 135
FIELD RELATIONSHIPS	136
Establishing and Maintaining Field Relationships	137 / Complicating and Enriching
Dynamics in Field Relationships: Friendships and Power	141
REFLEXIVITY	145
Subjectivity	146 / Identities and Positionings 150 / Trustworthiness 152 /
Asking Reflexive Questions	154
SO WHAT?	156
RECOMMENDED READINGS	156
EXERCISES	156

CHAPTER 6

But Is It Ethical? Considering What Is “Right” 158

RESPECT, BENEFICENCE, AND JUSTICE	159
The Principle of Respect: Informed and Voluntary Consent	160 / The Principle of
Beneficence: Privacy	161 / The Principle of Justice: The Vulnerable, Reciprocity, and
Representation	166
ETHICAL CODES	171

RESEARCHER ROLES AND ETHICAL DILEMMAS 175

Exploiter 175 / Intervener/Reformer 176 / Advocate 178 / Friend 178

NO EASY SOLUTIONS 179**RECOMMENDED READINGS 181****EXERCISES 181**

CHAPTER 7**Finding Your Story: Data Analysis 183****VARYING FORMS OF ANALYSIS 183**

Thematic Analysis 184 / Conversation Analysis 184 / Narrative Analysis 185 / Semiotics 186

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: THE EARLY DAYS 189

Memo Writing 189 / Maintaining Some Semblance of Control 190 / Rudimentary Categorizations 193

ENTERING THE CODE MINES 195

What Is a Code? 195 / Approaches to Coding 196 / Creating a Codebook 198 / Putting Codes to Work 200

DISPLAYING DATA 202**QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS SOFTWARE 207****MAKING CONNECTIONS 209****TRUSTWORTHINESS AND LIMITATIONS 211**

How Do You Know That Your Interpretation Is the Right One? 211 / Delimitations and Limitations 213

CONSIDERATIONS 214**RECOMMENDED READINGS 215****EXERCISES 215**

CHAPTER 8**Crafting Your Story: Writing Up Qualitative Data 218****THE CONUNDRUM OF REPRESENTATION 219**

The Tale and the Teller 219 / The Researcher's Language 221 / Depictions and Interpretations 222

MIND-SETS FOR APPROACHING RESEARCH WRITING 223

Artist 223 / Translator/Interpreter 224 / Transformer 224

STRATEGIES FOR WRITING 225

Getting Started 225 / Keeping At It 228 / Drafts and Revisions 230

THE TEXT: QUESTIONS OF STYLE 232

Variety in Text Organization 232 / Specifics Of Style 237 /
Beginning and Ending 240

RECOMMENDED READINGS 242**EXERCISES 242**

CHAPTER 9**Improvising a Song of the World:
Arts Based Research 243****WHY ENGAGE IN ARTS BASED RESEARCH? 246****APPROACHES TO ARTS BASED RESEARCH 248**

Ethnodrama 249 / Poetics 252 / Autoethnography 258 / Fiction 261 /
Visual 263

BEING ACCOUNTABLE AND TAKING RISKS 267

Being Accountable 268 / Taking Risks 269

RECOMMENDED READINGS 270**EXERCISES 270**

CHAPTER 10**The Continuing Search 271****BECOMING QUALITATIVE RESEARCHERS 272****APPLICATIONS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH 274**

The Possibilities of Words and Other Forms of Presenting Research 274 /
Applications of the Research Process 280

CONCLUDING WORDS 284**RECOMMENDED READINGS 285****EXERCISES 285**

Appendix A: Descriptions of Several Qualitative Methodologies 287

Appendix B: Maintaining a Fieldwork Notebook 292

Glossary 295

References 303

Name Index 320

Subject Index 324

CHAPTER 1

Meeting Qualitative Inquiry

Sofie knew and taught me that everyone had some story, every house held a life that could be penetrated and known, if one took the trouble. Stories told to oneself or others could transform the world. Waiting for others to tell their stories, even helping them do so, meant no one could be regarded as completely dull, no place people lived in was without some hope of redemption, achieved by paying attention.

(Myerhoff, 1979, p. 240)

BEGINNINGS

Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff was talking about the grandmother who raised her and who, through her love of people's stories, perhaps set the course for Myerhoff's life. Learning to listen well to others' words and to interpret and retell the accounts is integral to many kinds of qualitative research.

Because qualitative researchers seek to make sense of actions and narratives, and the ways in which they intersect, I begin with an account of my connections to research. If you know something about my story, you may better understand and interpret the perspectives in the work that follows. This beginning also contextualizes and introduces you to different research projects that I refer to throughout the book as I draw upon my experiences to illustrate methodological advice and reflections.

I do not remember "discovering" qualitative inquiry. The process, however, is one with which I have been familiar for some time. I grew up in a small, rural midwestern town where almost everyone went to church (no synagogues, no mosques) and almost everyone had European ancestry (mine was Norwegian and Welsh). I grew up interested in people whose lives were different from mine. I read each month's *National Geographic* and filled my nights with folktales from around the world. Books such as *Arctic Wild* (Crisler, 1958) and *No Room in the Ark* (Moorehead, 1959) from my parents' bookshelves supplemented library books about travelers, explorers, and adventurers from Genghis Khan to Amelia Earhart.

I gravitated toward anthropology as an undergraduate, which allowed me to continue learning about the many different ways people live. For anthropologists, fieldwork—being present in others' lives—is *the* method to learning about

another culture. The more I read, the more I wanted to experience life elsewhere. Thus began a postgraduate trek in which I traveled and worked from Wales to Afghanistan. On a kibbutz in Israel, I pollinated date palms, pruned banana plants, picked grapefruit, and grew increasingly interested in tropical agriculture. Later, I lived in Jerusalem and joined a team of archaeologists for a year. I continued with archaeological work in northern Kenya, where I camped in dry riverbeds and walked over tracks of rhinos and lions as I helped to trace the southern migration of people away from the Nile 10,000 years ago. Throughout this period, I kept journals. As I read them now, I am struck by my joy about what I was learning and my frustration about how to make sense of all I was encountering. Constantly stimulated by different ways of doing things and multiple ways of understanding them, I was restless and eager to go beyond experiences. Such desires led me to graduate school with plans to apply anthropology through education. I took courses that provided theory and structure for what I had been doing haphazardly on my own.

My first qualitative research project, my master's thesis, was an interview and archival study of Illinois rural women who worked the land. As a doctoral student, I assisted Alan Peshkin in conducting an ethnography of a fundamentalist Christian school. Peshkin moved into the community where the school was located. The other assistant and I spent two days a week at the school throughout one academic year, observing from the back of classrooms and conducting multiple-session interviews with teachers and students.

Before beginning dissertation research, I worked as an action researcher (defined later in this chapter) in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as part of a multiple-nation Caribbean Agricultural Extension Project under the direction of Michael Quinn Patton.¹ There I assisted representatives of various farmers' groups and agricultural organizations to create a national agricultural extension plan. For my dissertation, I returned to Saint Vincent to carry out ethnographic research in one rural village, focusing on young people, agriculture, and education.

As a professor at the University of Vermont (UVM), I began teaching various courses in qualitative research. Novelists and poets lament that if they are teaching writing, they find little time to write. The same applies to teaching qualitative research. My research was limited to sabbaticals (the first in Costa Rica, the second in Oaxaca, Mexico) supplemented by short-term evaluation work and a life history project. Although I had been trained in conventional ethnographic methods, by the time I went to Costa Rica in 1993, I wanted to do research *with* and not *on* others (both conventional and more collaborative research methods are discussed later in this chapter). I volunteered my research skills and worked with an environmental group in the small community in which I was living. Seven years later, my next sabbatical allowed me to continue this mode of research in Oaxaca (discussed in Chapter 2).

In 2002, I received the opportunity to work as a traveling professor with the International Honors Program (IHP), a study-abroad program now affiliated with the School for International Training. For nine months, thirty students and three professors lived in six countries studying issues of culture, ecology, and justice,

guided by coordinators, activists, environmentalists, and intellectuals in each country. I continued in various capacities with IHP for a dozen years, interspersed with other responsibilities such as directing a semester program and teaching courses in Oaxaca, Mexico, for UVM. In 2011, sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, I conducted a year-long study of seven academic art museums and was inspired by ways in which professors and museum personnel collaborated to use art in the teaching of subjects ranging from biology to music (see Glesne, 2012, 2013). I draw upon some of that effort in this book.

From these varied experiences and through insights of others, I have become particularly sensitive to and interested in interactions and relationships between researchers and study participants. I readily acknowledge inquiry purposes that do not focus on serving research participants, but I am personally inclined toward research that contributes to the lives of participants as determined by them, and that perspective will be evident as you continue to read.

This book focuses on approaches to qualitative research primarily within interpretive traditions—with frequent references to challenges to and quandaries within interpretivism. A quotation from *The Tao of Painting* represents my perspective on learning to do qualitative inquiry:

Some set great value on method, while others pride themselves on dispensing with method. To be without method is deplorable, but to depend on method entirely is worse. You must first learn to observe the rules faithfully; afterwards, modify them according to your intelligence and capacity. (Sze & Wang, 1701/1963, p. 17)

Learning to do qualitative research is like learning to paint. Study the masters, learn techniques and methods, practice them faithfully, and then revise and adapt them to your own persuasions when you know enough to describe the work of those who have influenced you and the ways in which your modifications create new possibilities.

SEARCHING

Dictionaries define research as a careful and diligent search. We have all been engaged in a variety of careful and diligent searches without necessarily labeling the process research, let alone a particular type of research. My mother's interest in her family's genealogy is one example of searching. In her pursuits to develop the family tree, she asked questions of great aunts and second cousins; requested that they and other relatives share letters and photo albums; wandered in cemeteries in towns where ancestors had lived; and sent for documents from hospitals, town clerks, and churches. From these sources, she carefully and diligently traced her ancestral history, recording both the dates of significant events (births, marriages, deaths) and the stories she heard (such as of Thomas Pettit, who, in the early 1600s, became a Bostonian "freethinker" and was whipped and "kept in hould" by local Puritans until able to join Anne Hutchison sympathizers and move further west).

As students some of you may have conducted searches without having been assigned to do so. For example, a group of undergraduates living in a residence hall became increasingly dissatisfied with the selection of food provided by the food service. They complained, but nothing changed. Over a particularly unsatisfactory meal, they decided to develop a survey that took shape as a series of statements followed by a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. They typed it up, discussed it at a hall meeting, and got the resident hall adviser to make copies, which were distributed via mailboxes. Respondents were asked to deposit the survey in a designated box by a certain date. On that date, the students collected the surveys and tallied the numbers, learning what proportion of residents responded and how those residents felt about certain aspects of the food service. Armed with numbers, they created a written summary and sent it to the school newspaper, the university president, and the food service.

As professionals, you may have continued to conduct searches. A middle school English teacher was struck each September by a pattern of frightened, uncertain new students. She had a hunch that teachers, administrators, and older students could do something to ease the transition but was not sure what. So she asked her sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade classes to write essays about how they felt during their first few days as sixth-graders, what made the experience good, what made the experience bad, and what could be changed to make it better. Then, working with the students, the teacher prepared a report for presentation to staff and administration, suggesting steps that the school could take to welcome sixth-graders into middle school.

In all three of these examples, people were engaged in research. They deliberately set out to collect data for specified purposes. In all three cases, data might have been collected more carefully, but the point is that people carry out research of all sorts in their everyday lives—even though they may not name the methods they use or be aware of how to improve the process so the results are more trustworthy or of greater use. This book is meant to help you approach qualitative research in ways that are thoughtful and useful.

Some of you may have been conditioned to think of research as a process that uses an instrument such as a survey, involves a large number of people, and is analyzed by reducing data to numbers. This mode of inquiry, as demonstrated by the food survey, uses *quantitative* research methods. The middle school example and parts of the genealogical search show the researcher gathering words by talking with a small number of people, collecting a variety of documents, and, in the middle school example, observing behavior. Both of these cases use *qualitative* approaches.

The two modes of inquiry are frequently contrasted. Quantitative and qualitative researchers, however, use similar elements in their work. They state a purpose, pose a problem or raise a question, define a research population, select research methods, develop a time frame, collect and analyze data, and present outcomes. They also rely (explicitly or implicitly) on theory and are concerned with rigor. Nonetheless, how researchers go about putting these elements together makes for distinctive differences in the research processes and products as discussed in the next section on research paradigms.

WAYS OF KNOWING: PARADIGMS OF RESEARCH

Paradigms are frameworks that function as maps or guides for scientific communities, determining important problems or issues for its members to address and defining acceptable theories or explanations, methods, and techniques to solve defined problems.

(R. Usher, 1996, p. 15)

The concept of research paradigms grew out of work by Thomas Kuhn, who published *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962. Kuhn, trained as a theoretical physicist, had a strong interest in philosophy. While a doctoral candidate, he became intrigued by how history informed the philosophy of science (Loving, 1997). The book that resulted from this exploration began a philosophical revolution in the practice of science. Before its publication, Western scientists tended to believe that research built upon itself, progressively increasing a body of knowledge. Referred to as **logical positivism**, this paradigm held that knowledge was “limited to what could be logically deduced from theory, operationally measured, and empirically replicated” (Patton, 2002, p. 92). Although science, at the time, was viewed as objective, neutral, and value-free, Kuhn demonstrated how science was often an ideological battleground where ideas and explanations competed, and those that won tended to be those of the scientists with the most power (economically, politically, socially, etc.). From Kuhn and others came the argument that “data and observations are theory-led, that theory is paradigm-led, and that paradigms are historically and culturally located” (R. Usher, 1996, p. 16).

A **paradigm**, then, is a framework or philosophy of science that makes assumptions about the nature of reality and truth, the kinds of questions to explore, and how to go about doing so. The word **ontology** is often used to refer to beliefs regarding reality or what kinds of things make up the world. “Ontology,” states Potter (1996), “is the concern about whether the world exists, and if so, in what form” (p. 36). You might think of the world as one of matter, for example, things you can observe and measure. Or you might see the world as more shaped by the mind, by how the mind perceives, categorizes, and interprets things. What you believe about the nature of reality, in turn, affects the kinds of questions you ask of it, what you consider knowledge to be. **Epistemology** is the word used to refer to the study of the nature of knowledge. What you believe knowledge to be, in turn, shapes and serves to justify your methodology, your theoretical perspectives about how to go about knowing.

Every research study, therefore, is informed by philosophical and theoretical assumptions, even though researchers sometimes are not aware of these influences because they are embedded in the researchers’ suppositions about the nature of reality and knowledge. Part of your duty as a researcher is to figure out what philosophical and theoretical perspectives inform the kind of work you choose to do (see Figure 1.1). This introduction is meant to initiate that process, but it is only a beginning. Some sources to help you become more familiar with the thought and language of philosophical and theoretical perspectives that inform research are suggested at the end of this chapter.

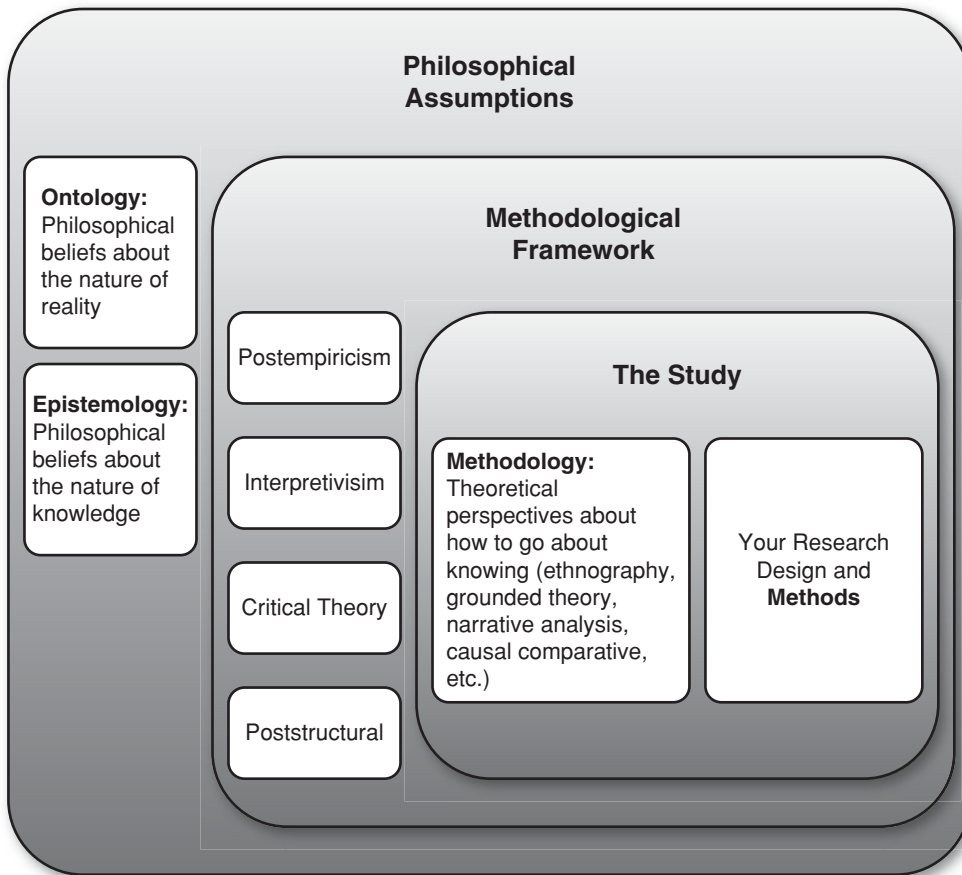


FIGURE 1.1 Foundations of a Study

For ease of discussion, I classify the philosophical frameworks that guide the work of social scientists into four paradigmatic families: postempiricism, interpretivism, critical theory, and poststructuralism. Each should be viewed as loosely bounded and as containing several related schools of thought. They are not rigid, well-defined categories. These paradigms have developed and changed over time, influenced by sociohistorical contexts as well as by thought of scholars from within their own traditions and from other paradigms. To complicate matters, different researchers and authors use different labels for the paradigms, and some labels get associated with various paradigms. Nor is there agreement among social scientists on how many paradigms there are or on how associated methodologies should be divided. My purpose in using the categories proposed here is as a heuristic for making clearer the ways in which research is ensconced in belief systems that offer different purposes for doing research and different ways of making meaning.

As you reflect upon the various paradigms described in the sections to follow, you may find it useful to refer to Table 1.1, which illustrates the purposes and methodologies or analyses associated with various paradigms. Aspects of this table were informed by the work of Patti Lather and Elizabeth St. Pierre (Lather, 2007, p. 164).

Logical Positivism/Logical Empiricism and Postempiricism

Empiricism developed and flourished with the Renaissance (1450–1600), as a response, in part, to the power of religion during the Middle Ages. Rather than explanations based on religious texts, the empiricists believe they could explain

TABLE 1.1 Paradigms, Purposes, and Methodologies/Analyses

PARADIGM*	OTHER TERMS OR LABELS	ASSOCIATED THEORISTS OR PHILOSOPHERS	CENTRAL RESEARCH PURPOSE	ASSOCIATED RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES OR ANALYSES
Positivism	Logical empiricism Postpositivism** Postempiricism	August Comte	Predict	Experimental Quasi-experimental Causal comparative
Interpretivism	Constructivism Naturalism Phenomenological Hermeneutical	Clifford Geertz Jurgen Habermas Edmund Husserl Immanuel Kant George Herbert Mead	Understand	Ethnography Phenomenology Symbolic interactionism Narrative analysis Grounded theory
Critical Theory	Feminist theory Critical race theory	Karl Marx Antonio Gramsci Max Weber Herbert Marcuse Luce Irigaray	Emancipate	Critical ethnography Feminist research Participatory action research (Freire) Critical discourse analysis
Poststructuralism	Postmodernism Postcolonialism Post-Fordist	Michel Foucault Jacques Derrida Jean F. Lyotard Gayatri Spivak Edward Said Arjun Appadurai Homi K. Bhabha	Deconstruct	Deconstruction (Derrida) Genealogy (Nietzsche, Foucault) Rhizoanalysis (Deleuze, Guattari) Paralogic legitimization (Lyotard)

*Term frequently used to describe the family of philosophical frameworks.

***Postpositivism* is used by some to refer to a less strict form of positivism, and by others to refer to anything other than the early form of positivism. In the latter use of the term, all the paradigms other than early positivism would be forms of postpositivist thought.

the world and find truth through observations and experimentation. During the Age of Enlightenment (1600–1800), empiricism became viewed as *the* way to do research, contributing to rapid expansion of knowledge in the physical and natural sciences in Europe.

The term *positivism* came from Auguste Comte, a nineteenth-century French philosopher, who advocated modeling research in the social sciences on that used in the natural sciences to create an approach that “would be *positive* in its attempts to achieve reliable, concrete knowledge on which we could act to change the social world for the better” (O’Reilly, 2005, p. 45). Social scientists from many disciplines applied positivist methods and concepts (such as validity, reliability, objectivity, and generalizability) to their research. By the 1930s and 1940s, however, the ontology on which logical positivism was built—that a fixed reality existed that could be measured and known—had received much criticism. Most who work within this paradigm today would agree that the world is not knowable with certainty, and they accept that measurement is fallible. They also grant that complete objectivity is not possible and that all researchers are biased by their historical contexts and sociocultural experiences. Nonetheless, they continue to use and value procedures and language associated with the scientific method and to assert that research can reveal close enough objective facts to assist in making generalizations and predictions regarding social behavior. This modification of positivism is sometimes referred to as *postpositivism*. The term **postpositivism** is used by others to indicate all paradigmatic frameworks that have developed since logical positivism held sway. To avoid this confusion, I am using *postempiricism* to refer to the modified way of viewing science and inquiry that came after “the demise of the strict *empiricism of logical positivism*” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 233).

As a postempiricist, your ontological beliefs will include a reality external to people that can be measured and apprehended to some degree of accuracy. Because the world is at least approximately knowable, you will seek to do research in order to make generalizations about social phenomena, to provide explanations about their causes, and to create predictions concerning those phenomena. You will work to gain this knowledge through observations that are as objective as possible, measurements, and carefully designed experiments. Your research methods generally will begin with a theory about the phenomena in question. Using that theory, you will pose several hypotheses and then test your hypotheses through methods designed to be objective and to keep you removed from subjects to avoid, as much as possible, your influencing their behavior and responses. The data you collect will be reduced to numerical indices or quantifiable bits of information and will be analyzed statistically. These procedures tend to be called **quantitative methods**.

Interpretivism

Although ideas found in interpretivism can be traced back to Greek and Roman philosophies, interpretivism as a form of social science research grew out of the work of eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant and was

expanded on by Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Weber, Edmund Husserl, and others. These philosophers are referred to as **idealists** in that, unlike **realists**, who believe a world exists independently of the knower, *idealists* believe that the world cannot exist independently of the mind—or of *ideas*. “An idealist does not necessarily hold that the natural and social worlds are unreal or nonexistent, but that there is . . . no direct understanding of the world” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 143). Rather, the world must be interpreted. This interpretive theory of human understanding is sometimes referred to as *hermeneutics*. It rejects the idea of universal laws and accepts that interpretation is fundamental to human interactions and knowing (Schwandt, 2007). The role of the social scientist then becomes accessing others’ interpretations of some social phenomenon and of interpreting, themselves, other’s actions and intentions.

Many different traditions of interpretivism have developed. German Edmund Husserl, for example, elaborated on the philosophies of Immanuel Kant to develop his philosophy of *phenomenology*. In the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, other prominent thinkers, such as Alfred Schutz, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and George Herbert Mead, further developed phenomenological theory. As the ideas of interpretivism took hold in different disciplines and in various geographic locations, they grew and developed in ways that met diverse needs and interests. For example, *ethnomethodology* and *symbolic interactionism* grew as methodologies in sociology for interpreting aspects of everyday life while, in anthropology, *ethnography* developed as the way of understanding and interpreting culture. All, however, share the goal of understanding human ideas, actions, and interactions in specific contexts or in terms of the wider culture.

The ontological belief that tends to accompany interpretive traditions, therefore, portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever changing. What is of importance to know is how people interpret and make meaning of some object, event, action, perception, and so on. These constructed realities are viewed as existing, however, not only in the mind of the individual, but also as **social constructions**, in that individualistic perspectives interact with the thought and language of the wider society. Thus, accessing the perspectives of several members of the same social group about some phenomena can suggest some cultural patterns of thought and action for that group as a whole.

With the research goal of interpreting the social world from the perspectives of those who are actors in that world, it follows that the research methods include interacting with people in their social contexts and talking with them about their perceptions. If your philosophical framework is interpretivism, your study design will tend to focus on in-depth, long-term interactions with relevant people in one or several sites. Although site-specific hypotheses may be a result of your study, you probably will begin not with them, but with a mind-set that is exploratory and open to the variety of perspectives and issues that might arise. You observe, ask questions, and interact with research participants. You may look for patterns in your analyses, but you do not try to reduce the multiple interpretations to numbers, nor to a norm. Your final write-up will be quite descriptive in nature. These methods tend to be called **qualitative**.

Because some of you may be more familiar with postempiricist traditions of research and are trying to figure out exactly how interpretive traditions differ, I have included Figure 1.2. The differences suggested should be taken not as hard-and-fast distinctions but as predispositions of the different inquiry approaches.

Critical Theory

Critical theory research takes you beyond describing “what is,” which is the intention of interpretivists, and toward describing “what could be” (Thomas, 1993). In critical theory, the term *critical* refers to “the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice, and democracy” (R. Usher, 1996, p. 22). Critical theory research critiques historical and structural conditions of oppression and seeks transformation of those conditions.

POSTEMPIRICAL APPROACH	INTERPRETIVE APPROACH
<i>Assumptions</i> ■ Social facts have an objective reality ■ Variables can be identified and relationships measured to some extent of accuracy <i>Research Purposes</i> ■ Generalizability ■ Causal explanations ■ Prediction <i>Research Approach</i> ■ Begins with hypotheses and theory ■ Uses formal instruments ■ Experimental ■ Deductive ■ Component analysis ■ Seeks the norm ■ Reduces data to numerical indices ■ Uses abstract language in write-up <i>Researcher Role</i> ■ Detachment ■ Objective portrayal	<i>Assumptions</i> ■ Reality is socially constructed ■ Variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure <i>Research Purposes</i> ■ Contextualization ■ Understanding ■ Interpretation <i>Research Approach</i> ■ May result in hypotheses and theory ■ Researcher as instrument ■ Naturalistic ■ Inductive ■ Searches for patterns ■ Seeks pluralism, complexity ■ Makes minor use of numerical indices ■ Descriptive write-up <i>Researcher Role</i> ■ Personal involvement ■ Empathic understanding

FIGURE 1.2 Predispositions of Postempirical and Interpretive Approaches to Research

Critical theory research is guided by a *historical realism* ontology: that life is a “virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values crystallized over time” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 168). A central concept in critical theory research is that ideologies work to distort reality. The role of critical theorists is to reveal and critique these distorting ideologies and the associated structures, mechanisms, and processes that help to keep them in place (Prasad, 2005). In particular, they work to situate the experiences and perspectives of the oppressed group in a social, historical context, revealing how conditions serve certain groups and not others. See Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith (2008) for numerous examples.

Critical theory researchers often make use of (and make others aware of) *standpoint epistemologies*. Standpoint epistemologies are positioned in the experiences, values, and interests of a group that has traditionally been oppressed or excluded (women, gays, lesbians, people of color, the colonized, etc.). From those standpoints, researchers critique and reconstruct narratives of dominant groups, exposing ways in which they have been racist, masculinist, straight, Eurocentric, and so forth (Schwandt, 2007). Two examples of standpoint epistemologies are critical race theory and queer theory. **Critical race theory** focuses on ways in which racism is so embedded in society that it appears normal for many, and it portrays race as a socially constructed means to identify and classify people. With emphasis on social and political forms of power, critical race theory looks at how power both includes and excludes people of color (Madison, 2012; Schram, 2006). **Queer theory** challenges the concept of heteronormativity, the perspective that heterosexuality is/should be the normal (and legal) way for interactions. Similar to the treatment of the concept of race in critical race theory, queer theory views heterosexuality as a social construct and works to bring under suspicion any views considered “normal” by dominant society (Madison, 2012).

Although critical theory research does not follow any particular set of methods, a few general aspects of research design are characteristic:

- Critical theory researchers see research as a political act because it not only relies on values systems but challenges value systems (R. Usher, 1996). Critical theory research tends to focus on issues of power and domination and to advocate understanding from the perspective of the exploited and oppressed.
- Critical theory researchers often focus upon language or the “tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose are erroneous and unimportant” (Kinchelov & McLaren, 2000, p. 284). As a result, their interests lie in exposing ways in which discourses are socially and historically constructed and how these discourses support and maintain conditions of inequality, oppression, and exploitation.
- Critical theory researchers are often interested in **praxis**, or the relationships between thought and action, theory and practice. Some incorporate dialog

and critical reflection as part of the research process in an effort to reveal unexamined assumptions among participants and the ways in which people may be accepting explanations of the dominant cultural group that serve to oppress. This process “enables people to challenge learned restrictions, compulsions or dictates of habit” (Higgs, 2001, p. 49) and can point the way to changing current relationships or structures.

Weis and Fine (2004) provide engaging examples of the possibilities associated with critical research. They demonstrate how research can go beyond description to reveal ways in which certain groups are subjugated, and then to raise awareness among participants in those processes. In one of their studies, Weis and Fine created “research camps” for New York City high school students from a variety of identities (racial, class, gender, ethnic, etc.). In the camps, students learned about critical race theory as well as research methods. The students created a school survey, administered it, and then analyzed and interpreted the data. Using critical race theory, Weis and Fine urged students to look at ways in which dominant perspectives were perpetuated through their own analyses, and at how certain groups got silenced in the process. For many of the students, the work was empowering as they gained authority and confidence to speak out about school inequities and societal injustice.

Feminist theory can guide research in each of the paradigms, but feminist research is often allied with critical theory research. An underlying assumption in critical feminist work is the belief that women experience oppression and exploitation, and that this experience varies, considering the multiple identities each person holds (Maguire, 1996). Like critical theory researchers in general, critical feminist researchers focus on issues of justice and power and are committed to uncovering and understanding the forces that cause and sustain oppression (Maguire, 1996). They hold as a primary focus of their work the transformation of asymmetrical power relations, particularly as applied to women. This does not mean, however, that the focus is exclusively on gender, because “gender oppression is not experienced or structured in isolation from other oppressions” (Maguire, 1996, p. 108). Rather, women’s identities are understood as *intersectional* (McCall, 2005), making it imperative that consideration and analysis of race, class, culture, ethnicity, sexual preference, and other identities play a primary role in feminist research.

Beginning with the topic for research, the feminist position is that research with women must first ask research questions that are of interest and importance to women (Bloom, 1998). Second, “the most critical components of feminist methodology and perhaps its most distinguishing features are the concern for the research relationship and the enlargement of the definition of rapport in the fieldwork process” (Bloom, 1998, p. 150). The feminist researcher acknowledges that a relationship exists with each participant in a study and works to honor those relationships. Third, feminist researchers advocate critical self-reflections on their own roles as researchers and on their histories, values, and assumptions in

relationship to the research. Feminist researchers extend their attention to interactions among researcher and participants and to the role power and authority might play in the research process. Fourth, feminist researchers tend to position themselves in the inquiry process as activist scholars, committing themselves to using their privileged positions and research for social justice ends, particularly on behalf of those most disadvantaged (Bloom & Sawin, 2009).

Feminist research has made lasting changes in how qualitative inquiry in general is conducted. Because feminist researchers sought to create less hierarchical and collaborative research relationships, researchers in other paradigms revised their perspectives on ways to be with research participants and began asking new questions about how the nature of research relationships affected inquiry. The focus by feminists on interrogating their own actions, interactions, power, and authority in the research process has also contributed to general discussions of reflexivity in research and its expected incorporation into most forms of qualitative inquiry (see Chapter 5 for more discussion on this topic).

To complicate matters and also to reiterate that these paradigmatic categorizations leak into each other and are not static, “many contemporary critical and feminist scholars have moved in the direction of poststructuralist thinking in their work” (Hatch, 2002, p. 17). Just what this may mean is discussed in the next section.

Postmodernism/Postcolonialism/Poststructuralism

When we white Western males can no longer define the truth we claim there is no truth.

(Bruner, 1993, p. 23)

Every time research is done a piece of my culture is erased.

(Aboriginal quoted in Dunbar, 2008, p. 91)

The term **postmodernity** indicates a break from modernity, a historical period of time marked, in part, by industrialization. Characteristics of modernity included a belief in formal logic as necessary for reason, the bureaucratization of society, and a belief in science and technology as means to solving problems (Harker, 1993). Postmodernity is marked by globalization, the spread of information technologies, and the fragmentation of nation-states. Under **postmodernism**, the grand theories that have been relied upon as explaining how societies work and how people develop and interact are subjected to critique and distrust (Schwandt, 1997, p. 120), mostly because as Sokolowski (2000) states, “It has become more and more clear that the heart of the modern project is not the exercise of reason in the service of knowledge, but the exercise of a will, the will to rule, the will to power” (p. 202). “Postmodernism argues that there are no universal truths to be discovered, because all human investigators are grounded in human society and can only produce partial locally and historically specific insights” (Delamont, 2002, p. 157). Rather than questions about

causality, as with postempiricists, or meaning, as with interpretivists, concepts that are relevant to postmodernism include plurality, fragmentation, and indeterminacy (Prasad, 2005).

The paradigm of inquiry that is informed by postmodern thought is variably referred to as *postmodern*, *poststructural*, *postcolonial*, and *post-Fordist*, among other terms. These traditions can be distinguished from each other and yet share similar perspectives or philosophies, and the terms are used, therefore, somewhat interchangeably by many. Researchers within these traditions “offer a radical critique of the entire fabric of modern Western thinking from both within and outside it” (Prasad, 2005, p. 211). For each, the term *post* is more than a marker of time. It refers to a break with the past and to “the *regeneration* and *reconstellation* of new ideas and social practices” (Prasad, 2005, p. 213).

Postcolonialism theory has emerged from throughout the world—in previously colonized countries as well as in Europe and the United States. Postcolonialism is concerned with legacies of colonialism and how they work “to subjugate entire populations on basis of race and geography” (Prasad, 2005, p. 212). It focuses upon the multiple ways (language, values, customs, positions of power, borders) colonialism continues in the everyday lives of people, and how it is resisted and challenged. Postcolonialism critiques ways in which Western thinking (liberal humanism and modernist ideals) dominates lives of people throughout the world, and it works to bring the voices of the margins to the center, to displace Western hegemony. Important postcolonial scholars include Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Arjun Appadurai, among others.

Much of the thinking regarding **poststructuralism** emerged out of French intellectual thought, particularly the work of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. Reacting to the sociolinguistic work of structuralists who sought underlying linguistic codes or grammars to understand social interactions and cultures, poststructuralists were more interested in how texts resisted “order and systematization” (Prasad, 2005, p. 238). Viewing textual productions as not only written words but also speech and human behavior, poststructuralists tend to focus on deconstructing texts, showing how they systematically include and exclude people and ideas. Anything occupying a central position in a society, such as the notions of progress and liberal democracy in the United States, is suspect as discourses of control and power. The poststructuralist works to decenter and to destabilize such ways of thinking. Because these central discourses are seen as insidious, penetrating most venues of social thought, researchers must interrogate their own beliefs and actions as well: “Poststructuralism does not allow us to place the blame elsewhere, outside our own daily activities, but demands that we examine our own complicity in the maintenance of social injustice” (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 484).

The central purpose of these various *post* traditions can be described as **deconstruction**. Jane Flax (1990) writes that “postmodern discourses are all deconstructive in that they seek to distance us from and make us skeptical about beliefs concerning truth, knowledge, power, the self, and language that are often taken

for granted within and serve as legitimation for contemporary Western culture” (p. 41). Elizabeth St. Pierre (2000) elaborates:

One of the most significant effects of deconstruction is that it foregrounds the idea that language does not simply point to pre-existing things and ideas but rather helps to construct them and, by extension, the world as we know it. In other words, we word the world. The “way it is” is not “natural.” We have constructed the world as it is through language and cultural practice, and we can also deconstruct and reconstruct it. (p. 483)

The artwork by Albrecht Dürer provides a visual metaphor of how assumptions and prevailing frameworks shape the work that gets done. In western Europe in the 1400s, paintings were used primarily to communicate religious stories and to pay homage to rulers and donors. Dürer was a German painter,



Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *Lot and His Daughters*, 1496/1499, Samuel H. Kress Collection, The National Gallery of Art.

engraver, printmaker, and mathematician who lived from 1471 to 1528. Much of his work was of religious figures and scenes, as was typical of the time. Dürer was, however, at the cusp of change, when the bourgeois were becoming patrons of art along with the aristocrats and the church. These new patrons were interested in new art forms, encouraging Dürer's foray into woodcut prints and watercolor landscapes. Postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism challenge every aspect of Western philosophy and science that has developed since the Enlightenment, suggesting that, as with Dürer, we live at another cusp of change.

Mixed Methods

When you are standing within the circle of logic created by the assumptions of your paradigm, the positions taken by those working in other paradigms simply do not make sense.

(Thomas Kuhn, cited in Hatch, 2002, p. 19)

A question that arises in research discussions is whether or not you can combine approaches, usually meaning whether you can combine quantitative and qualitative research techniques within one study. To address this question, I need to clarify the terms *methodology* and *method*. **Methodology**, drawing from Schwandt's useful dictionary of qualitative inquiry terms, refers to "a theory of how inquiry should proceed. It involves analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 193). The term **method** generally refers to "a procedure, tool, or technique used . . . to generate and analyze data" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 191). If you were to attempt to combine methodologies—for example, a postempiricist methodology that relies heavily on quantitative methods such as experimental design with an interpretive methodology that relies on qualitative methods such as ethnography, you would end up doing two studies. These methodologies derive from paradigms that make different assumptions about the nature of the world and about what counts as valuable knowledge. Each requires specific procedures or methods to find the type of data needed.

If, however, you wanted to combine methods, or techniques, you could. The experimental researcher sometimes uses interviews and the ethnographer sometimes uses surveys. One method tends to be supplementary to the dominant mode of gathering data. That is, if doing ethnography, you might include a quantifiable survey in your study, but most of your methods would be qualitative. Even if you combine qualitative and quantitative methods, you tend to situate yourself within a particular research paradigm that matches your way of viewing the world.

This discussion is not meant to imply that one methodological approach cannot build upon the other. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution began with much observation, descriptive data, and inductions and was followed by more

“scientific” experiments. Nor does it preclude collaborations by researchers looking at an issue from different research paradigms and with different sets of expertise: “What is evident, however, is that the challenge facing those seeking to use different theoretical, not merely alternative methods, is to identify which can be productively brought together—for what purpose(s), in what ways, and on what scale—to explore which phenomena” (Green, Camili, & Elmore, 2006, p. xvii).

METHODOLOGY, INQUIRY QUESTIONS, AND METHODS: AN INTERACTION

This section works to demonstrate more explicitly how research philosophies and methodologies shape the kinds of research questions asked and the methods used. For comparisons, I focus on two methodologies based in interpretivism—ethnography and community-based action research—and on a methodology grounded in critical theory, critical ethnography.

In 1992–1993, I lived for eight months in Costa Rica. For much of that time, I was in a small fishing village, assisting a local environmental group. They were training young people as nature guides and working to educate national and international tourists as well as members of the broader community about the environments and cultures of the area. The organization was a grassroots group, developed by local people for local environmental efforts. It was headed by an indigenous man and drew members from all the ethnic and cultural groups in the area: African Caribbean, Indigenous, Hispanic, and European.

Through a mutual contact, I was introduced to the president of the organization to discuss possibilities of my doing research with the group. He suggested that I draft a proposal for the group’s board to discuss. The proposal was accepted, and I rented a small house in the village. With this group and within this one setting, my research could have taken a variety of forms.

I might have done conventional ethnography. After working with and hanging out with the group for a month or so, I began to see the leaders and activists of the group as “bridges” between several different cultural or value systems. In my journal, I was forming an ethnographic research statement: I wanted to understand (1) the motivations of and perceived rewards for those who give of themselves for a greater good; (2) the cultural and historical contexts that nurture or provoke such a gathering of varied, talented, committed individuals; and (3) the role of cross-cultural experiences in the philosophical orientations of the leaders/activists.

For such a study, I would have developed criteria for selection of leaders/activists, set up a series of interviews, and continued “hanging out” with the group, observing actions and interactions. To help in understanding the socio-cultural context of the leaders, I may have set up interviews with family members and significant others. Eventually, I would analyze the interview and

observation data for patterns and themes and write a descriptive account meant to contribute to the scholarly understanding of activists/leaders. But I did not do conventional ethnography, as much as those research questions interested me.

I might have done critical ethnography. Most of the inhabitants of the area were either African Caribbean or Indigenous in heritage. Although patterns of racial and ethnic oppression have taken different forms in Costa Rica than in the United States, both African Caribbean and the Indigenous encounter discrimination. While in the village, I began to hear stories about the ways outsiders (Costa Rican and foreign) were gaining access to land because the local people lacked legal title, in spite of traditional claims to the land.

I could have done research to understand local customs of land tenure and Costa Rican legislation regarding owning land. Then, I might have formed a critical ethnography research statement such as the following: I want to (1) uncover ways in which current systems of power and privilege (class, ethnicity, gender) facilitate the loss of claim to coastal and rainforest land by locals and (2) work with local groups to develop strategies to retain control over their land. Research methods might include creating dialog groups to discuss experiences with land tenure, encroachment on communal land, pressures to sell land if title is held, and possible strategies to defend rights and retain land. I would act as a group facilitator and resource person, providing information about legalities where needed. My primary intent would be to help develop strategies and raise awareness of ways to challenge the ongoing loss of land. But I did not do critical ethnography, as much as land rights issues appeared important to me.

Critical ethnography can be a kind of action research, but it is not necessarily action research. The essence of action research is the intent to change something, to solve some sort of problem, to take action. Through preliminary discussions with the environmental group, community-based action research (addressed in more detail later in this chapter) was the preferred inquiry mode. If I, with my skills as a researcher, was going to be involved with the group, they wanted me to use my abilities to help their organization in its efforts, not to do research on them for use elsewhere. And I wanted to be of use to the people with whom I was living and from whom I was learning. I described my role as that of a *volunteer researcher*.

We set up a series of meetings to discuss small-scale research projects that the board desired. I took on these projects, often in concert with another member or two of the organization. For example, as part of the educational mission of the group, they asked me to investigate the area's environmental and cultural history and diversity, paying specific attention to items that visitors often asked about, such as indigenous uses of the rain forest. Such projects allowed me to learn from others about the area and their lives, sponsored by the group's introductions. I accompanied locals as they demonstrated everyday work and hiked in the rainforest as they pointed out and discussed their relationship to specific flora and fauna. The resulting document was illustrated by a local artist and made available in both English and Spanish.

My research work did not culminate in one large project; it was an ongoing process of negotiating multiple small projects. For example, another issue the group asked assistance with was more in the realm of organizational management. They requested help in prioritizing program-related projects and managing time demands, since most members were not paid staff. After facilitating (and taking notes on) a series of discussions with the whole group, smaller groups, and individuals, I drafted a plan for the year that reflected people's interests, commitments, and possible schedules. The plan then went through several iterations with the group as a whole before being put into action.

As these examples show, inquiry can take a variety of shapes within the same context. The possibilities can feel overwhelming to someone embarking on research. Some researchers take the position that well-done research, no matter what the paradigm, methodology, or methods, can make a contribution and is a worthy enterprise. Others choose to involve themselves only in research that is developed with locals as coresearchers, addressing local concerns. Yet others have abandoned conventional fieldwork, choosing to inquire into society and culture through a focus on their own experiences, as discussed in the next section. Your charge is to figure out for yourself where you stand philosophically and politically on doing research. Your position will help you determine not only what you study but also how you design your study and what techniques or methods you employ. Because this text focuses primarily on qualitative research within the interpretivist paradigm, a bit more introduction to interpretive inquiry is presented in the remainder of this chapter.

INTERPRETIVE TRADITIONS OF QUALITATIVE INQUIRY

Novice researchers often get lost in the literature on interpretive research. It's conceptually dense, can be conceptually foreign, and has conflicting use of terminology.

(Higgs & McAllister, 2001, p. 34)

By this point, I assume you are not surprised by the preceding quotation. Researchers differentiate among various types of interpretive inquiry, but approaches are multiple and distinctions are not clear-cut. For example, you might call your research case study, conversation analysis, cognitive anthropology, discourse analysis, educational connoisseurship, ethnography, ethnomethodology, ethnoscience, grounded theory, hermeneutics, heuristic inquiry, life history, narrative analysis, oral history, phenomenology, or symbolic interactionism, among other possibilities. As suggested in Table 1.2, each approach carries with it philosophical assumptions, emphasizes certain foci (culture, language, etc.), is associated often with particular disciplines (sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc.), and tends to rely upon select methods (in-depth interviews, cross-case analyses, etc.). Nonetheless, it may be best to think of the various methodologies as orientations rather than distinct, separate categories, in that each approach primarily seeks to understand and describe social phenomena from the perspectives of the participants.

TABLE 1.2 Some Qualitative Methodologies Grouped by General Foci and Disciplines*

METHODOLOGY	MAJOR FOCI	COMMON DISCIPLINARY ASSOCIATIONS
Ethnography	Describing and interpreting patterns of behavior and culture	Anthropology Education Nursing
Narrative Research Oral History Life History	Understanding lives and cultures through stories or narratives—emphases on both content of stories and the telling	Anthropology Literary criticism Social sciences Sociology
Cognitive Anthropology Ethnoscience	Exploring how aspects of culture are reflected in language and thus organized in the mind	Anthropology Sociolinguistics
Ethnomethodology	Understanding <i>everyday</i> activities and interactions	Anthropology Education Sociology
Ethnography of Communication Microethnography Constitutive Ethnography	Examining patterns of face-to-face social interaction, both verbal and nonverbal, and how they relate to larger cultural and social organizational contexts	Anthropology Sociolinguistics Sociology
Conversation Analysis Discourse Analysis Semiotics	Studying meaning-making processes involved in social interactions through perceiving and analyzing words and actions as <i>signs</i> and <i>text</i>	Communications Psychology Sociolinguistics
Grounded Theory	Developing theory out of systematic comparative fieldwork	Nursing Sociology
Symbolic Interaction	Understanding how others learn and make meaning of symbols and actions in social settings	Philosophy Sociology
Phenomenology Heuristic Inquiry	Exploring the subjective meaning and essences of another's experience of a phenomenon	Nursing Philosophy Psychology

*Note: This should be viewed as a loose grouping. Aspects of these various approaches are often combined in studies and used in a wide variety of disciplines.

This section touches upon the history and complexity found within three interpretive methodologies: ethnography, autoethnography, and action research. The discussion does not cover all interpretive methodologies; rather, it is provided to alert you to some of the variety within the paradigm and to your need to seek out sources that can inform you on methodologies of particular use to you for the questions you desire to ask. I have chosen to highlight these three because

I reference them the most throughout the book. Brief descriptions of four other methodologies (narrative research, grounded theory, phenomenology, and case study) can be found in Appendix A. The methodological descriptions indicate ways in which research foci and purposes can differ and yet make use of many of the same methods (in-depth interviews, participant observation, document collection) discussed in this book. You may want to turn to Appendix A and to read more widely before designing your research, or you may want to gain an overview of ethnographic research methods in general and then explore some other ways to approach your research interests.

Ethnography

Sciences and their societies . . . co-constructed each other.

(Harding, 1998, p. 2)

The interpretive tradition with which I am most familiar is *ethnography*, an approach widely used in anthropology as well as in other disciplines, such as education, sociology, and nursing. Since I refer to ethnography throughout the text, I discuss it more fully than other approaches. I also provide more of a historical context for the ways in which ethnography has been and continues to be used so that you can better understand and consider critiques of ethnography at home and around the world.

Ethnography comes from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning “a people or cultural group,” and *graphein*, meaning “to describe.” *Ethnographic* literally means “to describe a people or cultural group.” Using *culture* as the theoretical framework for studying and describing a group, ethnography’s origins are associated with anthropology and, to some extent, with sociology. Although social scientists do not agree on what culture is, they do see it as the organizing principle for doing ethnography. Some, for example, focus on shared meanings within a group, while others focus on what one needs to know to behave appropriately in some context. Through long-term immersion in the field, collecting data primarily by participant observation and interviewing, the researcher develops the **thick description** (a term coined by Geertz, 1973) used for interpreting how people within a cultural group construct, share, and negotiate meaning.

Ethnography’s Historical Context. Many forms of Western science expanded and advanced through colonialism. Colonial interests, for example, led to a need for navigation knowledge, and the science of cartography developed. As colonization put explorers, bureaucrats, and settlers in contact with new diseases, the science of tropical medicine grew. Agricultural knowledge magnified with colonists’ exposure to new plants such as maize, potatoes, and sugar cane. These new sciences benefited Europeans, contributing to higher standards of living in the home countries. While colonialists appropriated some local knowledge, such as tobacco cultivation, they imposed their own ways of knowing upon the people they subjugated. As they destroyed local industries, trades, and cultural traditions, they effectively slowed the growth of non-Western sciences (Harding, 1998).

Throughout the colonial period, explorers, missionaries, and colonial administrators wrote reports and descriptions of the people they encountered, but they were more interested in how to best exploit the new territories and the labor of the people than in describing their ways of life. Most reports “were written from the perspective of, or by the representatives of, a conquering civilization, confident in its mission to civilize the world” (Vidich & Lyman, 2000, p. 41).

During the later part of the Victorian era (late 1800s), anthropology developed as a discipline. In this *armchair anthropology* period, scholars compiled descriptions of people’s cultures through information from colonial reports, missionaries, and adventurer-scholars. Influenced by Darwin’s publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, these early anthropologists tended to embrace a theory of *social evolution*. This theory posited a continuum of societal development from “primitive” to “civilized.” Guided by this theory, many anthropologists sought to collect and compare cultural information in order to determine indicators for placing people and their societies at different stages along a societal development continuum. Unsurprisingly, Europe was the standard for “civilization” and this anthropological “science” was often used to further racist, Eurocentric causes (Vidich & Lyman, 2000).

The Classic Anthropology period began in the 1920s, after Bronislaw Malinowski carried out long-term fieldwork (which he called “ethnography”) in New Guinea and the Trobriand Islands between 1914 and 1918. Fieldwork soon became associated with anthropological research. Major scholars of the early part of this period include A. L. Kroeber, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict in the United States and Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown in England. Since much of the world was colonized in the first half of the twentieth century, the work of anthropologists was bound up with the colonial enterprise, as young people from Europe and the United States set off to study “natives” or “tribals,” often in areas of the world remote to them. Their attitudes toward the role of colonialism, however, varied widely. Some of the classical anthropologists supported cultural and political self-determination, while others saw assimilation as the direction of the inevitable future if those who had been colonized hoped to survive in a modernizing world. Although a number of horror stories can be told of anthropology’s role in colonization, the contributions of some anthropologists in refuting racist theories, in affirming non-Western values, and in opposing Western national development models should be recognized as well (Benthall, 1995).

By the end of World War II and the cessation of overt colonial control in much of the world, anthropologists had abandoned the theory of social evolution. The discipline suffered, however, from a collective guilt over its connection to colonialism. Because of this guilt and, most likely, because of less ease of access to ex-colonial countries, many anthropologists began studying in their own countries, often looking for the “exotic” or “marginal” in their own societies, as a group of sociologists from the University of Chicago were already doing.

Referred to as the *Chicago School*, these sociologists from the University of Chicago undertook what they simply called **fieldwork** (Tesch, 1990). Influenced by British social anthropology, they began applying participant-observation techniques to the study of groups within their own communities. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess were two of the influential sociologists guiding the Chicago

School movement, which attracted a number of young sociologists between 1920 and 1960. Viewing Chicago as their laboratory, these young sociologists conducted urban fieldwork focused on individuals, groups, and organizations and wrote ethnographic texts now considered classics, including *The Hobo* (Anderson, 1923), *The Taxi-Dance Hall* (Cressey, 1932/2008), *The Jack Roller* (Shaw, 1930/1966), and *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Zorbaugh, 1929/1983).

Current Ethnography. The social context and times have changed for ethnographers, and who the ethnographers are has also changed (Tedlock, 2000). Rather than men, many ethnographers tend to be women; rather than from primarily privileged classes, they come from different socioeconomic, ethnic, gay and lesbian, and non-Western groups. Along with the diversity in researchers, the reasons for doing ethnography are many. The conversations and challenges within anthropology, particularly in addressing its historical associations with colonialism, have contributed to critiques, new thoughts, and new practices within interpretive, critical, and poststructural paradigms. For example, former subjects of colonization not only have taken issue with what had been written about their cultures but also have become ethnographers, revealing assumptions of the “outsider” ethnographer and highlighting issues of interpretation and representation. Anthropologists and ethnographers have been at the forefront of discussions about how representations are all fictions of sorts, being influenced by the experiences and theoretical lenses of the authors, the conventions of scholarly rhetoric, the types of field relationships, and so forth.

Perhaps because ethnography was one of the early qualitative research methodologies, the methods of participant observation and in-depth interviewing are often referred to as ethnographic field methods whether or not one is doing ethnography. I tend to adopt this broad-brush use of the term. Throughout the book, I use *ethnographic* somewhat interchangeably with *qualitative* to refer to practices that seek to interpret people’s constructions of reality and identify uniqueness and patterns in their perspectives and behaviors.

Autoethnography

Autoethnography can be considered a kind of narrative research. I highlight it here because of increasing interest in it as a methodology. The term **autoethnography** has been used in a variety of ways over time: to describe narratives of a culture or ethnic group produced by members of that culture or ethnic group; to describe the ethnography of the “other,” but one where the writer interjects personal experience into the text; and, more akin to autobiography, to investigate the self within a social context, whether it be one’s own or that of another culture (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Here, *autoethnography* is used to refer to the kind of writing that inquires into the self as part of a sociocultural context.

Autoethnography begins with the self, the personal biography. Grounding the work in narratives of the self, the researcher goes on to say something about the larger cultural setting and scholarly discourse, taking a sociological rather than a psychological perspective. Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner (1996, 2000) have been at the forefront of autoethnography, creating texts individually and

together and encouraging others to delve into their own lives to explore sociocultural milieus. An aspect that tends to distinguish autoethnography from some other interpretive methodologies is the use of literary techniques to dramatically portray experience. Ellis (2004) even wrote an autoethnography methods book in the form of a “methodological novel.”

Autoethnography is particularly effective in addressing research questions focused on personal traumas, spirituality, and epiphanies or major life markers (Leavy, 2009). Researchers have used autoethnographic techniques to explore grief, illness, oppression, personal stigmas, and so forth. The study is of oneself with data collected from extensive reliving of past events through writing them and then reflecting on those events, emotions, and reactions as an effect of or in resistance to the larger sociocultural context. Although other people may also be interviewed and documents sought out to help with remembering, the focus is on one’s own experiences (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Ellis (2009) describes her hope for the kinds of contributions autoethnography may make:

I care deeply that my stories have the potential to impact and improve social conditions. I make the case that this can happen through examining lives one at a time and encouraging voice person by person, as well as through an explicit focus on social justice or connection with an interest group, ideology, or party politics. (p. 15)

More discussion on and examples of autoethnography are included in Chapter 9.

Action Research

As discussed earlier, methodologies tend to be associated with specific research paradigms. Remember, however, that these are permeable categories. Paradigmatic thought and categorization have changed in response to historical moments and to challenges to ways of thinking about the world and knowledge. Similarly, methodologies are not stable entities, and the thinking and procedures associated with them change over time, across disciplines, and, sometimes, with locations. Thus, the same label might indicate several different ways of going about doing research, depending upon the times and/or practitioners. Action research is a good example.

Action research grew out of the work of Kurt Lewin in the mid-1900s. Although radical at the time in combining the generation of theory with action to change a social system, Lewin’s model of action research was grounded in the logical empiricist paradigm with clear separation between the researcher and the researched and with cycles of discovery, intervention, and evaluation (Bray, Lee, Smith, & Yorks, 2000; Bryant, 1996). It was used particularly in industry research to find ways to make businesses more efficient.

Action research has experienced popularity again, particularly in education, as a way to improve practice. Based in interpretivism, however, the cycles of research have evolved to observing, reflecting, and acting, using primarily qualitative interviews and observations, as well as surveys and quantifiable data

(Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988; Stringer, 2013). During the reflection phase, the researcher or coresearchers interpret the data and communicate the multiple viewpoints to those with a stake in the process (the **stakeholders**). This phase is followed by discussions of what actions need to be taken and then by the action phase, which involves planning, implementation, and evaluation.

In this form of action research, the researcher works with others as agents of change. Several different categories of action research exist in this more inclusive mode. Stringer (2013) elaborates on what he calls “community-based research,” which assists a group, a community, or an organization in defining a problem and better understanding the situation, and then in resolving their problems. The research process involves all major stakeholders, with the researcher acting as a facilitator who keeps the research cycles moving. Two other kinds of action research are introduced here: participatory action research and collaborative research.

Participatory action research (PAR) sounds as though it could be another term for community-based action research, and indeed, some use it this way. PAR is usually linked, however, to the theories and work of Brazilian activist and educator Paulo Freire (1970/2000). Evolving since the early 1970s, PAR is associated with critical theory in that it is action research committed to social transformation through active involvement of marginalized or disfranchised groups. Influenced by Jesuit work in liberation theology, Freire’s work included the objective of **conscientization**, or consciousness-raising. Information is generated, analyzed, and reflected upon in the group in a way that helps to transform the thinking and realities of that group (Kendon, 2005). In its origins, PAR relied on visuals, since the work tended to take place with illiterate groups. Drawings and photos were used as “elicitation tools for discussion” (Gubrium & Harper, 2013, p. 32). PAR was popular throughout Latin America in the 1970s to mid-1980s and, to some extent, in the United States as well. It is enjoying a renewed popularity today, particularly as part of visual research inquiry. Chapter 3 includes more discussion of PAR and visual research.

Although derived from action research, collaborative inquiry differs in that participants work together to develop *knowledge* and *understanding* “as a catalyst for change—personal change, organizational change and large-scale social change” (Bray et al., 2000, p. 3). All participants are full partners in the research process, from shaping the question, to designing the inquiry, to gathering data, to making meaning of the data and communicating that meaning (Hatch, 2002). “Simultaneously, each participant is a co-subject—drawing on personal experience from inside and outside of the inquiry group to provide a collective pool of experience and insight for analysis and creating meaning” (Bray et al., 2000, p. 7). Because each participant is both coresearcher and cosubject, two conditions help shape the research focus: that each person has personal experience with the topic and that each is “equal relative to the others in terms of his or her ability to address the question” (Bray et al., 2000, p. 12). Research questions in collaborative inquiry thus tend to deal with some aspect of participants’ personal development or practice. Although much PAR and action research are collaborative in nature, collaborative research does not necessarily focus on issues of power or use dialogic processes, as in PAR. Both PAR and action research tend to involve some

hierarchy with one or two people, at the least, acting as facilitators. In collaborative inquiry, no one person has more authority than another.

In action research in general, when the researcher/facilitator is an outsider to the community or organization, difficulties in carrying out the research are often associated with defining the research focus, creating action groups where no formal organization exists, and knowing when and how to leave or end the research project. The problems and strengths associated with action research suggest that the concept of practitioners as researchers (e.g., teachers, nurses, social workers) who, with others in their community, investigate their own “backyard” carries much potential. Insiders who couple research theories and techniques with an action-oriented mode can develop collaborative, reflective data collecting and analysis procedures for their own practices or communities and thereby contribute to the sociopolitical context in which they dwell.

Possibilities of Qualitative Inquiry

In practice, neither research paradigms nor methodologies are as neatly segregated as they might appear from the headings in this chapter. Think of them as philosophies in dialog with each other and with prevailing intellectual and cultural thought. Each paradigm has influenced and will continue to affect the theories and approaches in other paradigms. Each has strengths, challenges, and possibilities. Since the rest of this book is ensconced within the qualitative interpretive tradition, I end this section with a list (in no particular order) of some of the possible contributions such research can offer:

- Through inquiry, you seek, interpret, and share others’ perspectives, as well as your own, on some aspect of the social condition, contributing to the multiplicity of voices and visions, and to the plurality of knowing.
- Listening until you understand the world of another person and then representing that world can be radical actions when you use inquiry to witness the stories and lives of those whose voices have been ignored or silenced.
- Your interpretations can point out significances, meanings, and critiques that, through your representation, can inspire others to perceive, value, or act in different ways.
- Seeking to interpret a context not your own can help you to better know yourself. You will more easily see your own assumptions, stereotypes, and subjectivities.
- Interpretive inquiry attunes your senses to the richness of the lives around you, to the complexities and particularities of people’s actions and words. This way of being can become part of who you are beyond your researcher self.
- Ideally, you are researching in situations where you can take on Maria Lugones’s notion of being “playful,” in that you “abandon competition and self-importance” (Madison, 2012, p. 121). Without attaching expectations, you give of yourself as you learn from those around you. In the process, you often develop meaningful relationships.

WHAT IS TO COME

After collecting data for a semester for her master's thesis, Susan, an environmental science student, stated, "I'm ready to throw the whole project out because I've come up with so many new questions. This process has blown me away. I feel like I need to go back and begin all over again." Susan is right. Only you know best what you should look for, what questions you should ask, and what methods you should use at the end of your study. The process of getting to that end, however, takes you through a terrain that eventually becomes clearer overall, while growing more dense in detail. The combination of your own inquiry, field journal, and reading of this text and others should help you to grasp the phenomenon of your research with the clearer understanding and sense of complexity that are the gifts of qualitative inquiry.

The open, emergent nature of qualitative inquiry means a lack of standardization; there are no clear criteria to package into neat research steps. The openness sets the stage for understanding as well as for an ambiguity that can engender a sometimes overwhelming sense of anxiety: "Who else should I be seeing?" "What else should I be asking?" "How can I ever assemble all of the pieces into something meaningful?" The openness allows the researcher to approach the inherent intricacies of social interaction, to honor complexity, and to respect it in its own right. As Eisner (1981) states, "To know a rose by its Latin name and yet to miss its fragrance is to miss much of the rose's meaning" (p. 9).

This chapter has introduced you to some of the philosophical and theoretical foundations of qualitative research. The chapters to come focus more on process, on some methods used in qualitative inquiry. They take you through procedures of research design, data collection, data analysis, and writing, as well as into discussions of reflexivity and ethics. As in learning to paint or swim, you will gain skills that can be enhanced only through practice. Wolcott (2009) states, "Qualitative approaches beckon because they appear natural, straight-forward, even 'obvious,' and thus easy to accomplish. Were it not for the complexity of conceptualizing a qualitative study, conducting the research, analyzing it, and writing it up, perhaps they would be" (p. 3). It is to the complexity of conceptualizing the studies that we now turn.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Historical, Theoretical, and Philosophical Introductions to Paradigms and Methodologies

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Prasad, P. (2005). *Crafting qualitative research: Working in the postpositivist traditions*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Willis, J. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Interpretivist and Applied/Action Research

Creswell, J. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pelto, P. J. (2013). *Applied ethnography: Guidelines for field research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Stringer, E. (2013). *Action research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Critical and Feminist Qualitative Inquiry

- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (Ed.). (2007). *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Poststructuralist, Postcolonial Inquiry

- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1975)
- Lyotard, J. G. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge* (G. Bennington & B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1979)
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

EXERCISES

1. Broaden your understanding of critical, feminist, poststructural, and postcolonial approaches to qualitative inquiry. Individually or in small groups, read more on theories and philosophies associated with one of these approaches. Share what you learn with the class.
2. Broaden your understanding of the diversity within the interpretivist qualitative paradigm. Individually or in small groups, choose an interpretive methodology other than ethnography (such as phenomenology, narrative analysis, or symbolic interactionism) and do some reading on that approach. Share your understandings with the class.

ENDNOTE

1. Michael Quinn Patton has received a number of awards for his work in evaluation and sociology. He is author of many evaluation and research books, including *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (2002), an excellent resource and guide for qualitative research.

CHAPTER 2

Research Design and Other Prestudy Tasks: Doing What Is Good for You

Change permeated my pilot project. I changed focus, questions and sampling strategies. I changed the way I framed, worded and ordered questions, how I thought about my topic and the motivating force behind it. And I changed the theoretical lens I used to view my research, eventually changing it back again.

(Tabitha, UVM student)

In late 1999, I was planning to go to southern Mexico for a sabbatical year of research. Having taken students to Oaxaca for several years, I knew broadly *where* I wanted to do research (the state of Oaxaca), vaguely *what* (community grassroots organizing and nonformal education), and generally *how* (a collaborative undertaking). Working on a proposal helped me focus the study and to think through aspects of research design. In introducing the study, I wrote:

In *Grassroots Post-Modernism*, Esteva and Prakash (1998) urge local thinking and action. They illustrate how the strength of grassroots efforts lies in community. Their book is ultimately about how some communities in the “Two-thirds World” (a term they offer as a replacement for “Third World”) have resisted Western notions of “development” and worked to form culturally appropriate solutions to their own problems. In presenting examples from both Mexico and India, Esteva and Prakash challenge readers to examine their assumptions about the “good life” and to reconsider what it means to be “developed.”

This introduction helped me to begin to set a conceptual framework for my proposed work (fleshed out in the literature review), and also to focus in on the notion of “culturally appropriate solutions” as I struggled to create a research question based upon both my interests and those of Esteva, with whom I had been discussing research plans. I developed three questions:

1. In what ways do various grassroots projects (whether an iguana farm or the creation of school texts in indigenous languages) reflect local knowledge and customs?

2. In what ways do the decision-making processes and project implementation procedures reflect local knowledge and customs?
3. What philosophical (economic/sociopolitical) challenges do local grassroots efforts raise for dominant (Western, capitalist, individualist, etc.) ideologies?

I continued the proposal by introducing Esteva and describing how our conversations had set the stage for the work:

Esteva will be my collaborator in the sense that I am “volunteering” to work with him to do research that is of use to him and his organization. I cannot do this research without his direction and without his introduction to the various communities where I will spend time documenting grassroots efforts.

I left exactly which communities and how many undetermined. Instead, I indicated a minimum number:

Research sites will be various indigenous communities within the state of Oaxaca where grassroots organizations are involved in addressing local issues in innovative ways. Esteva and his colleagues who live and work with communities throughout southern Mexico will identify these sites. The number of sites studied will depend upon access and the amount of time needed at each site. . . . At the minimum, I expect to be involved with six different communities.

The proposal continued, describing data-gathering methods, data analysis techniques, and possible products and contributions. As I revisit the proposal, I see many ways in which the plan changed as the year unfolded. I began working with a youth group that I had met previously through Esteva and his programs for UVM students. The group was assisting other youth groups to create collaborative cash-generating projects so that the young people could stay in their home communities rather than having to migrate for work. Together we engaged in research to look at what was happening with various youth groups and to suggest ways each could be better supported. Through this work, I interacted with young people from ten different communities, and, ultimately, was able to address each of the research questions. Would this have happened anyway, without the proposal? Perhaps. Even with the proposal, however, I felt as though I were flailing around, trying to find firm research ground the first several months in Oaxaca. Without the proposal and the sense of direction it provided, I would have floundered more.

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

Researchers make numerous decisions before they begin fieldwork. These decisions generally are embodied in a research proposal, prepared for a thesis or dissertation committee or a funding agency. The purposes of this chapter are to alert you to the general kinds of decisions you will make as you design your research, create your proposal, and prepare to move into the field. The specific choices you make will depend upon various factors, including your methodological choice. Figure 2.1 may assist you in your consideration of prestudy tasks.

Title	Fashion a working title that gets at the heart of the study
Introduction	■ Research goals and purposes ■ Research statement (Create a one-sentence statement that describes your intended inquiry. Make it clear, focused, and doable. Reuse this statement in your proposal whenever you discuss your plans.) ■ Kind of study (e.g., ethnography, critical ethnography, action research) and briefly, why appropriate
Conceptual Framework	■ Relationship of study to personal experience and knowledge ■ Relationship of study to prior theory and research ■ Contributions of pilot study to your current thoughts and proposed approaches
Research Questions	■ Description of the major questions that your work seeks to understand/explore ■ Relationship of research questions to prior research and theory, your own experiences, and research purposes
Research Methods (Describe and justify each selection, making use of qualitative research texts and articles to demonstrate your familiarity with the procedures you are proposing)	■ Description of research setting or social context ■ Discussion of type of study (grounded theory, ethnography, etc.) ■ Site and Participant Selection ■ Research Relationships (discuss what you expect your relationship with participants will be) ■ Data collection methods ■ Data analysis procedures
Validity and Ethics	■ Potential threats to the study's trustworthiness ■ How you are dealing with/will deal with these threats ■ Consideration of possible ethical issues
Implications of Study (Significance and Contributions)	■ Knowledge (What might your research contribute to knowledge or theory?) ■ Policy (How might your research contribute to policy?) ■ Practice (How might your research contribute to practice or to practitioners?) ■ Participants (How might your research give back to research participants and/or the communities of which they are a part?)
References	
Appendices	■ Timetable ■ Research information letter ■ Consent forms ■ Interview questions

FIGURE 2.1 Guide for Developing a Qualitative Research Proposal¹¹This outline is meant as a guide, a possible template, not as a rigid framework.

Of course, if new to qualitative inquiry, you need to know more about research methods before writing a proposal, and that is the purpose of this book. You may therefore want to think about the information in this chapter as beginning steps to designing a pilot study and then return to the chapter again when you know more about both your topic and the research process and are ready to create the proposal for your study. A pilot study is useful for trying out many aspects of intended research. It helps you learn whether the concept of interest to you is of interest to participants. It can assist in clarifying your research statement and questions. It can begin to uncover and challenge your assumptions about the proposed topic. Finally, a pilot study is an important place to try out research methods. Developing the research proposal is therefore an iterative process. It begins with a plan that a pilot project will help to revise. Pilot studies receive more attention later in this chapter.

Start getting used to writing in your research journal now. Use it to generate and keep track of thoughts and ideas about what you want to do. Such notes are often referred to as research **memos** or memos to yourself. They are writings that you do to help you think, to produce new ideas, and to work through ideas. They are not meant for anyone other than yourself. Lots of the words you write in your research journal will not find their way into the proposal or final project, but these jottings help you get to that proposal and final project and are sometimes useful when you begin the more formal writing.

As you work on crafting your study, you will find helpful Thomas Schram's text *Conceptualizing and Proposing Qualitative Research* (2006) and Joseph Maxwell's text *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (2013). Schram's book will help you to think through theoretical and philosophical approaches and to see how these perspectives interact with the methodology and methods you choose. Maxwell's text helps you to create a well-designed study and is full of useful exercises. These books complement and extend the information you will find in this chapter.

THE RESEARCH TOPIC

The first research decision is to determine what you want to study. Unless you are working on a project conceptualized by someone else, you must figure out which issues, uncertainties, dilemmas, or paradoxes intrigue you. Your passion for your chosen topic will be a motivating factor throughout the various research procedures, some of which are intrinsically more interesting than others. You tap into your subjectivity, of which passion is a part, to find topics appropriate to your interests. The topic, however, should not be so personal that it is of little interest to anyone else, nor should it be in an area where you have major emotional worries. You must be able to distinguish the line between your passion to understand some phenomenon and your overinvolvement in personal issues that need resolution.

Distinguishing the difference between a topic for research and one for therapy is not always easy. For example, a doctoral student who was also an instructor

in a small community college was about to begin a research class when he received word that his teaching contract had not been renewed. Understandably, he was angry and disturbed. Consumed with thoughts on this matter, he wanted to interview people at his institution to develop a better understanding of why he was being dismissed. The class convinced him that such an investigation would be limited in scope, and that he was unlikely to get honest and complete answers from interviewees. In the end, he explored another interest: attitudes of prison guards toward the private tutoring of inmates, a topic that, as he gathered and analyzed his data, brimmed with fascinating possibilities for continued study.

Asking yourself how your proposed research intersects with your life history and whether you are setting out to prove something that you already believe to be true helps to test your emotional attachment to particular outcomes. Ken, an elementary school principal who had held several different principalships, wanted to investigate the relationship of job stress to administrative turnover. Reflecting on the intersection of the topic and his own life, Ken wrote:

My topic is perfect, I thought. The turnover rate for school administrators is incredible, I know the subject firsthand, I have dozens of contacts in the field, and stress is on everybody's agenda, in both the public and the private sectors.

So what's the problem? I care too passionately about the results. I desperately want the study to prove that school boards and superintendents should show some compassion for building administrators. I want taxpayers to recognize the limitations of personnel, resources, and supplies that make the job of principal so frustrating. I want parents to see that a partnership between school and home is in the best interests of the children. I want to prove that the narrow-minded bigots who persecuted, criticized, harassed, and hounded me were wrong. This is clearly no way to begin a study.

Ken wanted to justify his own experience. Although he needed to be interested in his research topic, his emotional attachment could preclude the open learner's attitude necessary for good data collection and analysis.

Emotional attachment may manifest itself in other ways. If the very thought of approaching research participants causes severe anxiety attacks, then you should ask yourself why. Debbie, a special education teacher new to her school and district, was feeling uncomfortable when designing a pilot project that involved interviewing administrators and supervisors. Finally, she realized that she was threatened by the thought of exposing herself to her bosses in her novice researcher role. She considered alternatives, shifted her focus, and set up a study that required obtaining data from teachers rather than from administrators.

Not everyone works effectively under the same conditions. If you are overly intimidated by the thought of going into the field, then consider reshaping your study in a more inviting way. Some of your intimidation may be the result of feelings or problems that you need to overcome; others may represent feelings and problems beyond your capacity to remedy. The qualitative inquiry process, by nature, is replete with anxiety-producing occasions without the researcher's unwittingly setting up more of them.

Practical issues such as time and money must also be considered. The conceived study may be appropriate in academic terms but impossible to conduct given the practical limitations. Do not begin with a topic so vast in scope that you could never reasonably afford the time or money to complete it.

Although the planned scope for a research topic should be realistic, neither too broad nor too narrow, the researcher cannot always know the ideal scope until data collection is under way. For example, Purvis (1985) originally planned historical research to look at all forms of adult education provisions for working-class women in nineteenth-century England. As she collected and examined documents, however, she realized she had to narrow her study, but how she should focus her research was unclear. Should she investigate forms of adult education provided by the middle class, or types of adult education organized by working-class women themselves? Should she look at all forms of adult education, or concentrate on specific areas? Should she limit her inquiry to education in rural areas or in urban areas, or should she address regional differences? Purvis's range of choices suggests the alternatives available as you consider a research focus; you will find good arguments for supporting many different focuses within the same general area of study. Developing the conceptual framework for your study through reading related literature and theory facilitates sharpening the focus for your research. It is part of getting started.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker, and these problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies.

(Malinowski, 1922, p. 9)

Distinguish between having a grip and being in the grip of existing theories.

(Schram, 2006, p. 61)

Knowledge of associated literature will help you judge whether your research plans go beyond existing findings and theories and may suggest important areas to pursue. In the past, some qualitative researchers argued against reviewing literature until after beginning data collection to prevent undue influence of the theories and research designs of others on your project. Current researchers tend to agree that literature should be read throughout the research, including a thorough search before data collection begins. This perspective acknowledges that we never enter into research as a "blank slate"; rather, we carry with us guiding theories and assumptions, even if not fully conscious of them.

Seeking Relevant Literature

Reading about the studies of others in a way that is useful to your work requires a particular frame of mind. Collect, scan, and read literature to verify that you have chosen a justifiable topic. For example, the many dissertation studies that have

investigated why parents send their children to fundamentalist Christian schools have identified and discussed a range of explanations. Another study on this topic, even in a state where no such studies have taken place, most likely would contribute little more of interest. Try to warrant your own project on the basis of what has been done and what has not been done.

Use the relevant literature to help find focus for your topic. When you find an article that applies to your area of interest, study the references carefully and seek out the ones that may inform you more. Existing studies show what is known about a general area of inquiry and what is missing. Continuing with the above example, the review of Christian school literature may suggest that little is known about the lives of adults who as children attended a fundamentalist Christian school. To what extent do they live within the boundaries of the doctrine espoused by their schools? Gaps in the literature base indicate fruitful areas to explore with the potential to contribute to the field.

Consider how the literature can help inform your research design and interview questions. Read critically and learn from the successes and failures of other researchers investigating similar phenomena. Did the researcher spend enough time interviewing each participant to obtain more than surface responses? Were the questions asked of a usefully varied group of people? What questions were not asked at all? What situations were (and were not) observed? What directions for future studies did researchers recommend?

Cast a wide net in your literature search. Do not confine yourself to your topic, nor to your discipline. If, for instance, your topic of interest is the use of French in U.S. schools near the border with Quebec, then you will want to collect literature on schooling and bilingualism in general. Delamont (1992) suggests reading for contrast. That is, if you are interested in women in science, then you might also want to read about men in predominantly female professions such as nursing to help generate questions for your study. Sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and educators often write on the same topics, but from different perspectives. Try to seek sources from all possible disciplines.

Using Theory

Hatch (2002) suggests, “As qualitative studies are designed, attention should be given to two types of theory: methodological and substantive. An exposition of methodological theory places the proposed study in a research paradigm and identifies what kind of study is being planned” (p. 38). Exploring and describing your methodological theory invariably assist in making explicit the implicit perspectives and values you hold that may affect choice of research topic and questions asked of that topic.

Substantive theory is the “theory that is used to describe and explain the phenomena to be investigated—the substance of the study” (Hatch, 2002, p. 39). Substantive theories may be at various levels of abstraction, from empirical generalizations to formal theories. *Empirical generalizations* are at a low level of abstraction and refer to outcomes from related studies (e.g., long-term effects of religious education). You might use these theories in your proposal to help

provide the rationale or to raise questions for your study, and you might use them later on to compare and contrast with findings from your own work. In contrast to empirical generalizations, *formal theory*, sometimes referred to as *general theory*, tends to “try to explain a whole class of phenomena—say, for example, delinquency, revolutions, ethnic antagonism” (Turner, 1985, p. 27). Qualitative researchers often make use of these more general theories as a broad framework for designing their study (creating the research statement, selecting sites and participants, developing interview questions, etc.) and for analyzing aspects of their findings.

In Figure 2.2, Esch (1996) demonstrates how she made use of relevant theories to help her think through what she wanted to research. Remember, however,

Rebecca Esch (1996) was interested in studying adolescent girls’ development. After describing the basis for her interest in adolescent girls, she wrote:

This interest in adolescent girls led me to an exploration of the theories which sought to describe girls’ experience of the transition from childhood to adolescence, in addition to theories outlining girls’ development, particularly as their development was believed to diverge from traditional theories of adolescent development. My research focused on the ideas of the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies at Wellesley College, and the Harvard Project on Women’s Psychology and Girls’ Development. Both of these groups place the experience of relationship at the center of girls’ development. This is in contrast to traditional theories of development that stress individuation and separation.

Rebecca discussed these contrasting theories of adolescent development. Then, she transitioned to literature on friendship, situating the inclusion of this literature in a perceived gap in human development theories:

My perspective is that although many girls struggle during this period, and perhaps all face the possibility of suffering some ill effects due to cultural, school, and peer pressures, many girls thrive. Thus, one goal of my research is to re-define or re-label the experience of girls’ development during this transitional period. Much of this moving away, on my part, from a crisis philosophy, has been generated by my own reflexive search through my adolescent memories, during which I can find little evidence of a similar “crisis.” . . . Thus, the question began to form, what of those of us who did not suffer a traumatic transition from childhood to adolescence? What of those of us who did not lose our voice or our sense of self? . . . In thinking about these questions I keep coming back to the idea of growth within relationship and what role my friends have played during the changes and difficulties of my life . . . I began to wonder if perhaps girls’ friendship might play an important role during this transitional period.

With this introduction and rationale, Rebecca then explored literature and theory on women’s and girls’ friendships, and their relationship to the concepts of *developing a sense of self* and *resilience*.

FIGURE 2.2 Example of Seeking Out Appropriate Theories

that while theories illuminate, they also conceal. They can be restrictive at best and misleading at worst. As Schram (2006) states, “Imposing a well-established theory on your developing inquiry may set you up with a neat and satisfying framework for your study, but it may also prematurely shut down avenues of meaningful questioning or prevent you from seeing events and relationships that don’t fit the theory” (p. 60). One way to address this potential problem is to use several different theories to help guide the study. Another is to explicitly seek the gaps between what a specific theory does and does not explain in your work and to add new propositions to the prevailing theory or to point out its contradictions or incompleteness. Mills and Bettis (2006) assert that if we constantly seek out alternative interpretations that contradict our own expectations and the theories we are using, then we “can push our analyses to more nuanced stages that go beyond what our frameworks provide us” (p. 83).

Creating a Framework for Concepts

After you have collected and read a variety of works on your topic, you usually need to write a literature review for your proposal. Creswell (2012) suggests creating a diagram as a visual picture of the literature to help organize the review and to figure out how it relates to your study. The point is that the review needs to be organized around the understandings that have come from investigating the studies and theory related to your topic. A literature review is not a summary of research projects with descriptions of one study after another but an integration of reviewed sources around particular trends, themes, and ideas—or *concepts*.

It may be useful to think about creating a **conceptual framework** for your study, rather than doing a review of literature (Schram, 2006; Maxwell, 2013). This keeps the focus on your proposed work, instead of becoming a task in which you feel the need to touch upon every study somewhat related to your work. It may also help you to think more broadly and with more focus at the same time. You think broadly about how your work fits into larger theories, studies, or significant ideas. And you think more specifically about the possible significance of what you want to research and how. By thinking about “concepts” that inform your work, you create a useful organizational schema into which you can integrate theories and perspectives from multiple disciplines and perspectives (Schram, 2006).

In qualitative inquiry, reviewing literature and theory is an ongoing process that does not end after the proposal is written. As you collect data and begin thinking analytically about it, you will realize the need to review previously unexamined literature, both substantive and theoretical. For example, before I began fieldwork in the Caribbean (Glesne, 1985), I reviewed rural development literature in addition to agricultural and educational studies and documents pertaining to the eastern Caribbean. During my time in the field, but particularly during time focused on data analysis, I began to read extensively about dependency theory, theory that grew out of Latin America and explains economic and power relationships between nation states. Dependency theory became central

to my analysis and discussion, while the rural development literature receded, used primarily as examples of the then-dominant perspective of development that I contrasted with perspectives of various Latin American scholars at the time. Regard reviewing literature in interactive terms. You learn different things from the work of others depending on what you already have learned and what you need to know. You may find yourself both dismayed and pleased to benefit later from material read earlier but overlooked because you lacked the experience to recognize it as beneficial.

This is to warn that when you have written your literature review or conceptual framework for your proposal, you have not completed a chapter of your thesis or dissertation. Literature reviewed as a prestudy task often finds its way into the final write-up, but expect to read articles, reports, and books throughout the research process. Even with these additional resources, a chapter titled, “Review of the Literature” is not necessarily appropriate in qualitative inquiry. Wolcott (1990) states that he expects his students to know the literature related to their topics, but he does not want them “to lump (dump?) it all into a chapter that remains unconnected to the rest of the study” (p. 17). He suggests incorporating literature throughout the telling of the story: “Ordinarily this calls for introducing related research toward the end of a study rather than at the beginning, except for the necessary ‘nesting’ of the problem in the introduction” (p. 17).

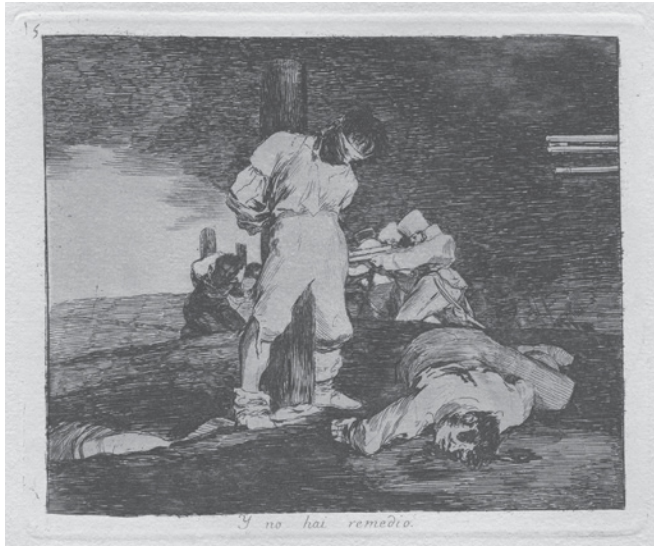
Remember also that data collection and data analysis in your pilot project will inform your literature search and conceptual framework. Do not feel as though you have to read everything before your entry into the field. Ernie was preparing to collect data on professionalization in the field of physical therapy. He reflected on his dance with literature:

First of all, I needed to define what professionalization was. Then I felt the need to read enough sociology to understand how people achieved it, which got me into the field of professional socialization. Then if you do achieve it and act it out, you are into the area of professional power and influence. After reading literature about that, I thought I needed to understand professional ethics and how that linked with the idea of the development of community. Finally, I realized that if I didn’t go out to the field, I’d spend the rest of my life saying, “Next month, I’ll be ready.”

Being ready to go to the field is often a state of mind, affected by, but not necessarily related to, having completed the preliminaries.

RESEARCH PURPOSES

This section and the one that follows discuss *research purposes* and *research questions*. They are not the same thing. **Research purposes** address your practical and intellectual (and possibly personal) goals. **Research questions** or your **problem statement** focuses your inquiry by posing a question or set of questions that, through your study, you plan to address.



Published thirty-five years after Goya's death, this image was one from a series of prints and paintings that criticized Napoleon's war with Spain. Goya's work was a break from the convention of portraying the heroics of war. He showed the horrors, futility, and inhumanity of war, where victim and killers are anonymous and no one is a hero. As we can observe changes in artistic conventions over time, we can also observe how research conventions have changed over time, including research purposes and for whom the research is intended.

Francisco de Goya (Spanish, 1746–1828), *Y no hai remedio (And There's No Help for It)*, etching, published 1863, Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art.

Maxwell (2013) distinguishes between personal, practical, and intellectual goals and suggests that you do so as well. Your personal goals are what motivate you to do the study. If the only personal goal you can come up with is completing a degree requirement, then you should probably rethink your study, since that goal may not be a sufficient motivating factor to take you through the work involved. Personal goals relate to personal experiences. For example, I grew up with a brother who was mentally handicapped in a time when few resources were available for him or his family. In fact, the ideology at the time (1950s) was one of hiding such “problems,” if not institutionalizing the person. This personal experience has been part of a motivating purpose in me to want to investigate difference and stigmatization in various ways. As you work to figure out your personal goals, write about what motivates you in your research journal. As you compose your proposal, such motivating factors may not only build the case for the research but also explicate why you are the appropriate person to conduct the study.

Those of you in applied fields such as education, social work, nursing, and physical therapy will probably be motivated as well by practical goals. That is, you hope that the research will help to change or accomplish something, for example, that teachers will become more aware of ways to encourage girls to like mathematics or that hospital administrators will implement a policy for a team approach to medical care. Practical goals also help to justify your research, but they are not usually outcomes that you can claim that your research will achieve. Rather, they help situate the potential significance of your work.

Your intellectual goals lend themselves to helping define your research statement or questions. “Intellectual goals . . . are focused on *understanding* something—gaining insight into what is going on and why this is happening,

or answering some question that previous research has not adequately addressed” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 28). Making sure teachers encourage girls to like mathematics is not, in itself, a researchable topic. But based on your own experiences and your reading about girls, mathematics, and teaching, you might become intrigued with, for example, the role of teacher talk in girls’ pursuit of and attitudes toward mathematics. This interest could become an intellectual goal and serve as the basis for creating a research statement.

To help you figure out your intellectual goals, think about what you want to describe, interpret, and/or explain (Schram, 2006). Descriptive purposes involve documenting day-to-day interactions or the ways in which people talk about some phenomenon. Interpretive purposes focus on understanding how things work in particular settings and how people make meaning of particular occurrences. Explanatory purposes include identifying patterns and possible relationships among behavior, settings, and phenomena.

Another purpose that has gained increased attention in qualitative research, particularly with critical and poststructural work, is the emancipatory goal with desires “to raise awareness, foster self-understanding and self-determination, and create opportunities to engage in social action and seek social justice” (Schram, 2006, p. 32). Research purposes are closely aligned with your beliefs on what counts as meaningful knowledge and how you go about knowing.

To summarize, clearly delineating research purposes sets the stage for research design in a number of ways. Determining your goals helps you focus your research statement or questions. Your research purposes help you to figure out the kind of research you need to do to achieve those purposes. If a goal is to raise consciousness among teens of how educational opportunities intersect with class and race, then you will use a different methodology than in a study seeking to document experiences of children of migrant dairy workers in a rural state. Your research purposes also help to justify your research by pointing out what is potentially significant about it. Marshall and Rossman (2011, p. 71–72) suggest thinking about the significance of a study by considering its potential contributions to knowledge, to practice and policy, and to actions that address social issues and inequities. Your research does not need to do all these things, but using these categories may help you to think about what it is you want your research to achieve and thereby to better define your research purposes. Finally, your purposes, along with your research statement, can act as a touchstone and help keep you on track when, in the midst of fieldwork, you become overwhelmed by the multiple directions you could pursue.

RESEARCH STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS

To focus your research, it helps to create, in one clear sentence, what it is that you want to describe, understand, or explain. This sentence is variably referred to as the *research statement*, *research question*, or *problem statement*. I like to think of it as a research statement with a small subset of research questions that help to

define and focus various aspects of the statement to be investigated. The research statement presents the overall intent of the study and indicates how open or closed it will be. It also helps direct procedures for research design.

Researchers often know from the beginning where they want to do research and, sometimes, with what group or groups of people. John, a middle school teacher working with an innovative teacher summer institute that invites middle school students to be discussants and participants, knew he wanted to do research with this institute. Dorianne, who taught English in an urban public school, wanted to do research with English teachers in other urban schools. Schram (2006), however, warns, "Do not confuse where you are looking (or what you are looking at) with what you are looking for" (p. 29). At the core of your research is some social phenomenon or issue.

Hilary Winchester (2005) notes that qualitative researchers tend to focus research questions on social structures and individual experiences of those structures. She poses two overarching questions that may help you form your research statement and questions:

- "What is the shape of societal structures and by what processes are they constructed, maintained, legitimized, and resisted?" (p. 5)
- "What are individuals' experiences of places and events?" (p. 6)

Societal structures might be explored through social, cultural, economic, political, and/or environmental questions. Individuals' experiences of places and/or events within a social structure are assumed to be varied and multiple; therefore, research statements often inquire into how social structures shape individual experiences, and how individuals create, change, or penetrate the structures that exist.

Both Rebecca's and Ashley's projects are drawn upon here to provide examples of research statements and questions. Rebecca focused her research on individuals' experiences with the following research statement: "Through my research I will explore the intersection of girls' friendship and the development of self during the transition from childhood to adolescence."

Rebecca felt compelled to clarify this general statement with several more statements:

I hope to begin to understand what role friendship plays in girls' developing sense of self. Further, I hope to begin to illuminate whether girls' friendship provides a form of resilience, and/or fosters resistance for girls as they negotiate the transition from childhood to adolescence.

She then created four research questions to help guide and set boundaries for her work on girls' friendship and the development of self:

1. How do girls describe the development of their sense of self during this transitional period?
2. What is the experience of friendship for girls during this transitional period?

3. How do girls describe their experiences during this transitional period?
 - What can be understood of a girl's world during this period with respect to family, school, peers/friends, culture, and so on?
 - How does the term *crisis* apply to this period of girls' development? Is there a more positive and proactive way to define, describe, and understand this transitional period?
4. How does an understanding of girls' development and friendships during this transitional period contribute to relational theories of development, and/or other developmental theories?

Rebecca's research questions assist in conceptualizing topical areas for interview questions as well as the need to include consideration of specific theories throughout data collection and analysis.

Ashley was working on a master's thesis in the School of Natural Resources. Her research statement took the following form: "In this research, I seek to understand how stakeholders involved with the relicensing of hydroelectric projects enter into negotiations and reach consensus concerning resource use and ecosystem protection." Ashley's research statement is an example of a qualitative study focused upon understanding a process, in this case, the process of negotiating and reaching consensus within a particular social structure. She developed four research questions to guide her work:

1. How do stakeholders enter into negotiations and what motivates and constrains them in the negotiation process?
2. What stages are involved in the process of reaching consensus?
3. How do stakeholders perceive the final agreement/outcome?
4. How does legislative context affect the stakeholders (from their perspectives) and the negotiation process?

As Ashley became satisfied that her research questions expressed what she wanted to learn, she could also perceive that her research methods would include observations, interviews, and legislative documents at the least. Note how both Rebecca's and Ashley's research questions began with *how* or *what*. Asking in *what ways* often works well, too.

Maxwell (2013, p. 5) provides a useful diagram that centers a study's research questions and then links them with two-way arrows to the research goals or purposes, the conceptual framework, research methods, and issues of validity. This diagram illustrates the importance of research statements and also indicates that they affect and are affected by other aspects of the study design. Figure 2.3 provides an example. Drawn from my study of academic art museums that was sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the left-hand side shows the research statement and two of the four research questions. The right-hand side poses a hypothetical study involving campus art museums, but with a different research statement. The topics are similar, but the different statements and questions lead to very different research designs.

The development of a research statement and questions is an iterative process. As you design and pilot your study, you may find yourself returning to your

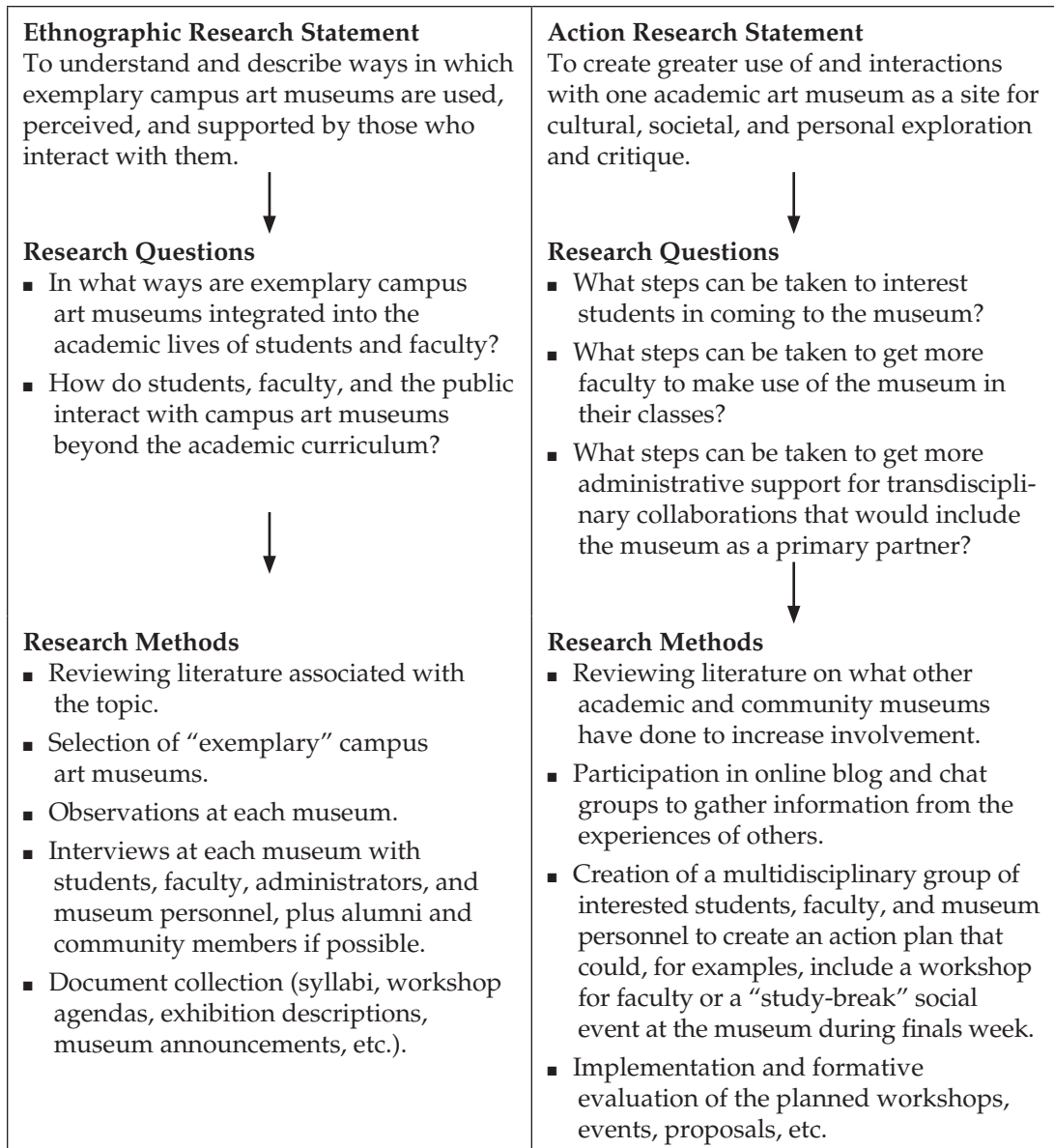


FIGURE 2.3 Linking Research Statements, Questions, and Methods

research statement and questions and redesigning them. Also note that qualitative studies are useful (1) for gaining a greater understanding of people’s experiences, perceptions, and attitudes, (2) for discovering and describing the contexts and processes involved in social structures, and (3) for generating theory. Qualitative methods are not useful for looking at discrete variables and the effects of one upon another or for making generalizations that go beyond the context of the study.

Your research statement is the fulcrum for your study. Work to create it as clearly and explicitly as you can to make sure that what you want to know is a fit with qualitative inquiry and then to help guide you to the next step of research design.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH METHODS

With your topic selected and the process of reviewing relevant literature and theories begun, you must decide what techniques or methods to use to collect data. Although researchers tend to use *collect* or *gather* when discussing the process of obtaining data, these words are not, perhaps, accurate. Dicks, Mason, Coffey, and Atkinson (2005) suggest “data recording” because data are not “simply inert materials lying around in the field, waiting for the researcher to come along and ‘collect’ them” (115). Qualitative researchers play an active role in *producing* the data they record through the questions they ask and the social interactions in which they take part, so perhaps *recording* is not the right term either because it does not convey ways in which qualitative information is co-constructed. Be aware of such problems with the language accompanying qualitative research, much of it inherited from earlier times and approaches to inquiry. I have continued using *data collection*, but I also occasionally use *data production*. See Figure 2.4 for an overview of the kinds of data often used in qualitative inquiry.

Qualitative methodologies tend to rely on more than a single method for obtaining data. This practice of using multiple methods is commonly called *triangulation*, a term taken from surveying and navigation. **Triangulation** is another contested term. In the past, qualitative researchers, influenced by logical empiricism, tended to view triangulation as a way to validate claims. The reasoning went that if you heard something from multiple sources, saw it enacted, and perhaps had a coresearcher who heard and saw it as well, then you could feel confident in claiming things were the way you were seeing and hearing them. From a

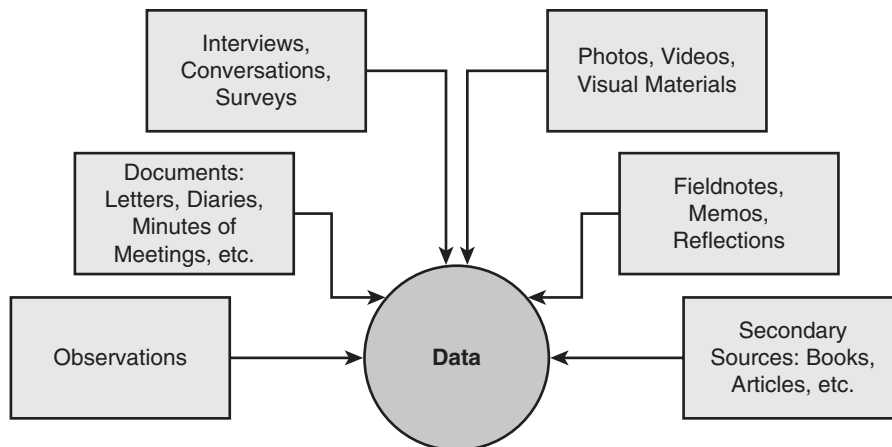


FIGURE 2.4 The Production of Qualitative Data

logical empiricist perspective, describing things as they *really* are is important. In interpretivism, however, you are not seeking to get at the *truth* of a setting or situation but trying to understand all available perspectives and their contexts.

You might be wondering, then, why researchers continue to emphasize employing more than one method for collecting data, and why triangulation remains in use by qualitative researchers. Gibbs (2007) provides two good reasons: "It is always possible to make mistakes in your interpretation and a different view on the situation can illuminate limitations or suggest which of competing versions is more likely" and, when what people say is inconsistent with what people do, "forms of data triangulation (e.g., observing actions as well as interviewing respondents) are useful . . . , not to show that informants are lying or wrong, but to reveal new dimensions of social reality where people do not always act consistently" (p. 94). Inconsistencies can help to reveal the complexity of a situation. Although using multiple data-collection methods is the most common form of triangulation, triangulation also refers to the incorporation of multiple kinds of data sources (e.g., not just teachers, but students and parents as well), multiple investigators, and multiple theoretical perspectives. Each serves to help deepen interpretations and understanding. Some researchers suggest using the term *crystallization* instead of *triangulation* to get away from associations with validity and also to "recognize that there are far more than 'three sides' from which to approach the world" (Richardson, 1994b, p. 522).

The data-gathering techniques used most frequently in qualitative inquiry include observations, interviews, and document collection. Within each technique, a wide variety of practices can be carried out, some more common than others. For example, when observing, some researchers use videotaping as a means to replay, slow down, and freeze observed interactions. Many, however, rely on their senses, the results of which are relayed through their pens and stored in field logs. Some researchers use props such as card sorts or pictures as stimuli for specific information in interviews. Most only ask questions.

These data-gathering techniques are discussed in later chapters; the point here is that, ideally, the qualitative researcher draws on some combination of techniques to record and construct research data, rather than on a single technique. This is not to negate the utility of a study based solely on interviews, for example, but rather to indicate that, in general, the larger the number of data-gathering methods, the richer the data and the more multidimensional the findings.

To figure out which techniques to use, once again contemplate carefully what you want to learn. Different research questions have different implications for data collection. In considering options, choose techniques that are likely to (1) elicit the data needed to gain understanding of the phenomenon in question, (2) contribute different perspectives on the issue, and (3) make effective use of the time available. In your research proposal, discuss each data production technique that you select, as Rebecca does in the following example:

1. *Interviews.* Through the use of interviews . . . I will explore each individual's understanding and experience of friendship. . . . As highlighted in previous sections, my research, by design and by philosophy, requires the involvement

of my “others” as colearners in this study, and the development of a relationship based on trust and rapport. . . . I will engage in multiple interviews across which I and my colearners will collaboratively design, and redesign, the interview structure as we proceed. Given that our relationship will be evolving across these interviews, my hope is that the quality of the information we exchange will also evolve.

2. *Participant Observation and Document Collection.* To create an in-depth case study of each of the girls, I will not only interview them individually but also spend time with them and their friends at home, at school, and in other settings. I will bring the girls together in groups . . . for conversations about friendship, and, if possible, employ a video camera to aid me in analyzing more deeply their interactions and conversations. . . . I will encourage them to keep a journal, draw, paint, take pictures, or engage in any other medium they feel allows them full expression of their ideas. To initiate this exploration, I plan to give each girl . . . a journal upon the embarkation of our journey . . .
3. *Open-ended “Survey.”* With the *New Moon* [magazine] girls I plan to suggest the same sort of creative means of expression as I do with the case study girls. . . . I will ask them to submit a paragraph, essay, picture, photograph, collage, or other creative form that best expresses their feelings about friendship.

When you have a sense of how data will get produced for your study, you need to delineate where the inquiry will take place and who the participants will be.

SELECTION OF SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

Selection of Site

Site Selection Decisions. The selection of the research site or sites is often built into the research statement. A colleague, for example, studied what happened when a Japanese firm moved into a small, predominantly white American city. His interest grew out of yearlong negotiations that took place in several small midwestern cities before a Japanese car industry selected one as its base. He then knew where his site would be.

Some research problems do not call for a specific research site; they simply require a setting within some specified geographic boundaries. For example, a study focused on an issue concerning working single mothers who had been on welfare within the past year does not necessarily involve selecting a single study site, but travel constraints suggest limiting the selection of study participants to nearby locations. Similarly, Rebecca, with her focus on adolescent girls’ friendships and development, selected her own town as the site for observations and interviews.

Commonly, however, researchers need to develop a rationale for selecting one or more sites for data collection. Perhaps the phenomenon you wish to investigate exists to some extent everywhere. Do you choose an exemplary site or a typical site? What criteria determine exemplary, typical, or other classifiers? If you select a rural school, must you also look at an urban school? How many sites should you select? To make such decisions, you must look again at your research

interests and carefully reflect on what you want to learn. You may also need to try out, or pilot, tentative site selections.

For an example of site selection decisions, I draw upon the academic art museums study. One of our research questions asked how the works of art distributed by the Kress Foundation (the sponsor of the research) around fifty years ago had been used and what differences, if any, the gifts had made. Therefore, the potential site and participant pool began with the twenty-three academic museums that had received donations of art from the foundation. We had decided that we would learn the most from active, innovative museums, so a second research question asked, "In what ways are exemplary campus art museums integrated into the academic lives of students and faculty?" (Glesne, 2013, p. 12). The next sampling strategy therefore was to determine which of the twenty-three museums could be classified as *exemplary*, meaning, as we defined it, that they were active, innovative, and integrated across the curriculum. This could be described as "extreme case" sampling, defined as "selecting cases that are information rich because they are unusual or special in some way, such as outstanding successes or notable failures" (Patton, 2002, pp. 230–231). Staff at campus art museums with Kress Collections were sent letters, asking those who were interested in participating in the study, and who would identify their museum as *exemplary* in their academic and extracurricular involvement at their institutions, to submit letters and documents detailing how their museums were what the campus art museum at its best could be. We received thirteen responses. One museum was used as a pilot site. Eleven of the remaining museums provided compelling evidence of exemplarity to us.

Cost and our timeline prohibited travel to all eleven museums, so we had to figure out if we would choose several museums in similar contexts (private colleges or public universities, same geographic locale, etc.), or museums at institutions that varied in some way (rural and urban, large and small, etc.). From reading associated literature, we had hunches that several factors, such as whether private or public, might affect the positioning of museums in institutions. So we then used *maximum variation sampling* to select five cases that varied widely on indicators that situate campus art museums differently: private/public institutions, large/small campus populations, and rural/urban locations. Our intent was to include museums from settings as diverse as possible. During this site selection process, we noticed that the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation had given many of the campus art museums interested in the study large, multiyear grants to increase their participation in academic curriculums (Goethals & Fabing, 2007). We decided that our study should make an effort to include museums that had not received such grants as well as those that had. That decision helped us in our final selection of five sites. But we were not yet done. Because of the geographical proximity of several sites and their persuasive letters, the study was widened to include briefer stays at two more sites. We were then ready to let each selected site know, and to begin scheduling dates for visits.

This was a large qualitative research study. You are most likely not planning such a geographically wide and multi-institutional study. Depending upon the breadth you desire for your study, however, you may plan to visit several sites. Sampling strategies such as those used in the art museum study are discussed

in more detail in the section on selection of study participants. The strategies apply to choosing both sites and participants. Before explicating these strategies, however, I turn to the topic of selecting a site with which you are intimately familiar, such as the school where you work. This topic is discussed in depth because novice researchers frequently turn to their backyard for site selection. Doing so has advantages, but not without drawbacks.

Backyard Research. Researchers are often drawn to studying their own institution or agency, to doing **backyard research**. Doing so is attractive for a number of reasons: They have relatively easy access; the groundwork for rapport is already established; the research would be useful for their professional or personal life; and the amount of time and money needed for various research steps would be reduced. As a novice researcher, you may be tempted to undertake backyard studies, but you should do so fully aware of the possible problems generated by your involvement in and commitment to your familiar territory.

Previous experiences with settings or peoples can set up expectations for certain types of interactions that will constrain effective data collection. When you enter a place new to you, those with whom you interact know that you are the “researcher.” That is your role, although research participants often assign other roles to you, too. When studying in your own backyard, you often already have a position—as teacher or principal or caseworker or friend. When you add on the researcher persona, both you and those around you may experience confusion over which role you are or should be playing at a particular moment.

Carolyn, for example, was interested in physically disabled children and interviewed special education supervisors in her own community about their work. She herself was the mother of a disabled child. She said of her interviewees, “They couldn’t disassociate my research role from my role as a parent of a handicapped child.” Instead of giving careful answers to her questions, they tended to say, “Well, you know what it’s like,” or “We’ve talked about this before.”

Gordon was a school principal whose pilot project involved interviewing students in his school. He provides another example of problems associated with choosing one’s backyard as the research site:

Ah! the innocence of the novice researcher! Feeling smug with my own cleverness for choosing a subject both near and dear, I set out to do my research. What could be easier? I was a well-established, well-regarded principal in a small community. Principals are supposed to study student achievement. Thus I had not only the right, but also the professional imperative to visit classrooms and interview students if these activities would bring about improvement in the educational program. I knew each subject individually, my teachers respected me (I had hired most of them), and I had control of scheduling. Best of all, I was the main gatekeeper for the school. Thus, through my role as principal, I had the opportunity, the right, and the resources to make short work of interviews and observations. What could go wrong?

Well, several things. First of all, as principal I was on duty anytime I was in the building and crises didn’t go away just because I was doing qualitative

research. Thus my good intentions to make observations and do interviews were regularly shattered by irate parents, students with personal problems, broken boilers, and wayward buses. Second, as a principal it was my responsibility to protect the education of children wherever possible. How, then, could I justify taking children out of class to interview them about achievement when half of them were reputed to be underachievers? Third, as the primary disciplinarian in the school, I became involved in a long-term disciplinary process with two of my subjects, and I lost valuable data because I was unable to interview them. Finally, as principal, I felt pressure not to upset rapport with teachers, so I found that I tried not to rock the boat any more than I had to. I think I lost valuable data by not interviewing them about their views on the underachievement of students.

What did I learn from all this? First of all, I've found that it's a good idea to go away from home to do your research. Research should be undertaken at least far enough away so that your job role does not interfere with your activities. Second, conduct your research where you are not so emotionally close to your subjects that it distorts your design, preferably someplace where you have not worked and lived for many years.

In addition to the access and scheduling problems that Gordon identified, backyard research easily can get messy. Politically charged situations can leave participants or you feeling vulnerable. Anne, for example, decided to inquire into the use of a particular educational computer program in area schools. What she did not take into consideration at the outset of her research were the people invested in keeping the program in the schools, including her boss. She states, "He was offended by the analysis. I have now had to edit my analysis to create a less in-depth and more toned down version of the original. My eyes are open to the political ramifications of research. And I have learned to not do research in my own backyard." Interviews also frequently uncover what can be termed *dangerous knowledge*, or information that is politically risky to hold, particularly for an insider. Such problems are not limited to backyard research, but they do seem to proliferate there. Ending the research is also different in backyard settings. When inquiring into a phenomenon set in an unfamiliar local, a researcher eventually leaves the town, agency, or culture even though connections may remain for life. You don't usually leave your own "backyard," although you may want to as a result of the "dangerous knowledge" you obtain in your researcher role.

These warnings against research in your own backyard apply, in general, to qualitative studies where the researcher is the primary investigator. Various forms of action research, including participatory action research, **teacher research**, and collaborative research, tend to work best in "backyard" settings because of the collaborative nature of the work as well as the agreed-upon purpose, oriented toward some sort of change. The knowledge gained tends to be open knowledge from which the group as a whole learns and forms new directions. Your being part of the program or organization contributes to the effectiveness of the work because research is generally a beginning step in a longer, change-oriented process. Indeed, action research is difficult to carry out when you are not part of the organization

because the people involved in the research tend to be those most invested in carrying out the needed changes.

Backyard research can be extremely valuable, but it needs to be entered with heightened consciousness of potential difficulties. Qualitative research classes often include a pilot research project as a semester assignment. Because of the apparent ease involved in accessing and talking with people you already know, you may be inclined to design a project around observing and interviewing colleagues, partners, or friends for the assignment. Making this choice is understandable, but you are likely to learn more about doing qualitative research and about your topic if you create a project that takes you to strangers or people you don't know well.

Selection of Study Participants and Locations for Observations

Since most research situations are too vast for you to interview everyone or to observe everything associated with the topic, you need a justifiable selection strategy by which to choose people, events, and times. Random sampling, the strategy often used in quantitative research, is appropriate for selecting a large, statistically representative sample from which generalizations can be drawn. Qualitative researchers seldom work with populations large enough to make random sampling meaningful, nor is it their purpose to produce generalizations. Qualitative researchers tend to select each of their cases *purposefully*: “The logic and power of purposeful sampling ... leads to selecting *information-rich cases* for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research” (Patton, 2002, p. 46).

Patton (2002) identifies and discusses sixteen different purposeful sampling strategies. I provide definitions of several of these strategies in Figure 2.5, as examples of ways in which you might think about what you want to know and, accordingly, the sampling decisions you would make. Different sampling strategies allow you to learn different things about your topic. Each strategy suggests particular kinds of sites and people.

Committee members and funding agencies often expect the research proposal to delineate clearly how many and which persons will be interviewed, as well as how many and which situations will be observed. The researcher, therefore, is tempted to develop complex selection matrices. Thinking of important stratification criteria is a good place to begin, but do not get overinvested in including all the possible configurations of such variables as ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic class, educational level, sexual orientation, age, and so on in your study. Select only those criteria that the literature and your experience suggest are particularly important, and remember that the selection strategy is often refined as the researcher produces data.

For example, as Carol began her study of the leisure styles of later-life widows, she assumed that leisure was affected by social class, years of education, employment status, and leisure options locally available. Varying her selection

Typical case sampling	Illustrates or highlights what is typical, normal.
Extreme or deviant case sampling	Selects cases from the extremes, cases that are unusual or special in some way, such as high school valedictorians and dropouts, or female scientists who work in Antarctica.
Homogeneous sampling	Selects all similar cases in order to describe some subgroup in depth such as a study of female professors from working-class backgrounds who were the first generation in their families to receive a college education (Clark, 1999).
Maximum variation sampling	Selects cases that cut across some range of variation such as students of different ethnic backgrounds enrolled in an environmental studies program. Searches for common patterns across great variation.
Theoretical sampling	Selects cases, people, events, activities, etc., through evolving theoretical constructs in one's research. Associated with grounded theory, but also used by others working within interpretive traditions.
Snowball, chain, or network sampling	Obtains knowledge of potential cases from people who know people who meet research interests. Wright and Decker (1997) used this approach to find men and women who were active armed robbers at the time of their research. Snowball sampling is useful for getting started when you have <i>no other way</i> to find the participants you want, but it is not always a sufficient strategy in itself for participant selection.
Convenience sampling	Selects cases on the basis of convenience. This strategy has low credibility and is inappropriate for anything other than "practice."

FIGURE 2.5 Some Selection Strategies for Research Sites and Participants

Informed by Exhibit 5.6 in M. Q. Patton. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

of study participants by these attributes would help her to learn more about her topic. Nonetheless, as Carol began collecting data, she learned of other criteria that appeared to affect leisure styles—such as how recently the women had been widowed—and knew she had to include these attributes in her selection strategy. As she spent time in the field, Carol decided that there was too much variation for her to understand the leisure styles of all later-life widows. She narrowed her focus to one group: high-school-educated, working, recently widowed, urban women. Doing so simplified her selection of participants and allowed her to go deeply into the leisure behavior of a reasonably homogeneous group. What struck

Carol as ideal at the planning stage of her project was replaced by something both useful and feasible.

Rebecca also chose a fairly homogeneous sampling strategy, since she was choosing depth rather than breadth of understanding. She described her rationale for her selection of adolescent girl participants:

I am not as concerned about studying a broad spectrum of girls so much as gaining a preliminary understanding of the intersection of girls' friendship and the development of self. . . . Once I have gained an understanding of this issue, I can then move on to exploring how it plays out across a broad spectrum of girls. . . .

By definition, my study requires the engagement of girls who are quite young. To have any breadth of access, I will require the full support and cooperation of their families. Given these considerations, I will choose for my case studies six girls I either already know, or know of, through my circle of academic relationships, and I will ask each girl to invite a best friend to participate with her. . . . Engaging this rather homogeneous circle of girls will allow me to describe their collective understanding of friendship and the development of self with somewhat less confusion from factors such as SES, education [of family], and significant family differences. Although drawing on this circle of girls will allow me to gain depth in my understanding and description of girls' friendship, I realize I will lose diversity.

As Rebecca's discussion suggests, in the numbers game, depth is traded for breadth. How many persons must you interview? Do you do multisession interviews? How much must you observe? How do you know when to stop? There are no magic answers. Morse (1994, p. 225) suggests between thirty and fifty interviews for ethnographic and grounded-theory research. This could mean interviews with thirty to fifty different people or multiple repeat interviews with fewer people, which Rebecca did with her study of girls' friendships. You also may focus more time on participant observation or other means of data collection than on conducting formal interviews.

In addition to choosing interviewees, consider selection strategies for observation locales and times. Do the settings for your research have cycles or seasons of activity, as well as episodic occasions that affect what goes on? If so, your observations should take account of the different phases of the cycle, as well as the different occasions. This does not mean that observations need to occur every day, but it does mean that time and places, as well as people, are part of sampling decisions. Classroom observations made only on Mondays may present a very different picture from observations made only on Fridays. Teachers and their students may interact quite differently in September than they do in December, as they may before football games, proms, and all the other big events that temporarily stand a school on end.

For depth understanding, spend extended periods with fewer respondents and limited observation sites. For greater breadth, but a more superficial understanding, carry out one-time interviews with more people and fewer observations in more situations. The strategy of participant selection in qualitative inquiry rests on the multiple purposes of illuminating, interpreting, and understanding—and

on your own imagination and judgment. Develop your rationale for choosing those with whom you will speak based upon your reading of associated theory and literature, your methodological framework, your personal experiences and hunches, and what you have learned through your pilot study.

PLANNING FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS AND TIME

Trustworthiness

The *trustworthiness* of your study should receive attention as you plan your research and develop a proposal. Trustworthiness is about alertness to the quality and rigor of a study, about what sorts of criteria can be used to assess how well the research was carried out. Drawing upon the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), qualitative researchers have described specific strategies as contributing to the trustworthiness of a study (see, for example, Creswell, 1998). These procedures are summarized in Figure 2.6. The trustworthy criteria primarily pertain

CRITERIA	DESCRIPTION
Prolonged engagement and persistent observations	Spending extended time in the field for observations, interviews, and other forms of interaction
Triangulation	Using multiple data-collection methods, multiple sources, multiple investigators, and/or multiple theoretical perspectives
Rich, thick description	Making use of observations and interview transcripts to write descriptively, allowing readers to understand the context for your interpretations
Negative case analysis	Seeking negative cases and nonconfirming evidence to your interpretation of patterns and themes
Member checking	Sharing interview transcripts, analytical thoughts, and/or drafts of the final report with research participants and obtaining their feedback and interpretations
Clarification of researcher bias and subjectivity	Reflecting upon your subjectivities and upon how they are both used and monitored
Peer review and debriefing	Obtaining external reflection and input on your work
Audit trail	Saving and organizing all documents related to your research (field notes, research journal, coding schemes, etc.) as a record of your research process

FIGURE 2.6 In Search of Trustworthiness

to research methods, to techniques for data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Their descriptions will make more sense after you have read about conducting inquiry. Trustworthiness, therefore, receives attention in both Chapters 5 and 7, after practices and terms related to augmenting the trustworthiness of a study have been discussed.

Guba and Lincoln reevaluated their trustworthiness criteria in their text *Fourth Generation Evaluation* (1989). They proposed a second set of guidelines that they called “authenticity criteria,” which were more about the purpose and outcomes of constructivist research. These criteria focus principally on the extent to which participants are co-constructors of learning and benefit through the research process. If you are interested in and considering research that moves toward transformation and change, see the discussion of transformational validity in Chapter 5, and seek out more on these criteria.

The Time Frame

You cannot know with certainty how long your research will take. Invariably, you will underestimate the amount of time needed. For example, gaining access to a school may drag on because the school board did not address the researcher’s plans on the evening scheduled. Introduction to the school’s teachers is delayed because the teachers’ meeting was canceled. People reschedule interviews at the last moment, or they don’t show up. Unexpected assemblies or field trips change observation schedules.

That things simply take longer than planned is a basic given in qualitative research. Terry Denny advised students at the University of Illinois to figure how much time each step should take and multiply by two and a half. It took even longer than that for Mark, who was studying attitudes of correctional officers toward educational programs for inmates:

I had expected that contacting the officers and arranging for interviews would take a day or two at most. It was over a month between when I scheduled my first interview until I arranged the last one. I had not counted on vacations, weddings, changing shifts, or even officers changing job sites. Not a single interview happened at the time it was originally scheduled. One officer was ordered to work back-to-back shifts because of lack of staff. Twice, officers were ordered to transport offenders to other facilities. One officer was ordered to work an hour longer than her normal shift (due to understaffing) so she could guard the perimeter fence while inmates enjoyed their outside recreation period. No wonder another officer complained in his interview that inmates have more freedom than the officers who guard them.

Despite the delays, do not become discouraged. Rather, remember that unless you are researching your own backyard or doing some form of action or collaborative research, you are external, if not alien, to the lives of research participants. You are not necessarily unwanted, but because you are not integral to the lives of your “others,” you are dispensable. You will complete your research tasks, but normally later than you expect.

Institutional structures affect schedule planning. For example, the elementary and high school setting is more structured than the university setting. The scheduling of bells to demarcate set periods assists researchers in planning whom they can interview or when they can observe and for how long. Institutional frameworks also affect the control that respondents have over their time. In general, individuals who hold higher places in the institutional hierarchy have greater autonomy to declare when they are free. Yet they often are busy individuals who reschedule appointments as a matter of course. Those lower in the hierarchy often have little autonomy to set a time to talk. When Lynne interviewed the custodial staff of a university, she had to work through the physical plant manager. He helped develop a schedule, communicate the research intent to the staff, and release individuals for interviews. As a result, Lynne was grateful to the manager for access and to the workers for their stories, but she felt caught, at times, between the two. A way around this situation would be to interview people when they are not at work, although that can create other challenges.

Your personal situation also affects the time frame, particularly if circumstances demand that you work at a full-time job while carrying out your inquiry. A number of foundations and associations fund qualitative research, but your interests need to match those of the funding body, and the application process begins early, sometimes as much as a year before the research commences. Even with funding, some professionals cannot leave their work as teacher, nurse, or administrator. You may, however, be able to negotiate release time for a limited period. Particularly when immersed in data analysis and writing, consider requesting several hours a day off rather than one full day a week. This allows you to attend to your research daily and forces you to use the limited time to the fullest, rather than dealing with the illusion of having a full day and then whittling away the time with other tasks and errands.

Despite problems in estimating the time needed to carry out research, developing a timetable is a good idea. Creating a timetable helps you to assess each proposed aspect of the research and to anticipate its requirements: arrangements to be made, letters to be emailed, people to be phoned, and places to be visited. Although data analysis and writing are somewhat integrated with data collection, they should receive at least as much scheduled time as data collection; it is relatively easier to collect data than it is to make sense of them and to shape them satisfactorily as words on a page. Finally, the timetable serves as a reality check on the feasibility—given the inevitable constraints of time and finances—of your choice of research topic, methods, sites, and participants. See Figure 2.7 for an example of a dissertation timetable. This timetable is meant more as a guide to parts of a study that you may need to consider and plan time for than as a suggestion of how much time to allot to specific tasks. The amount of time you estimate will depend on the research proposed, how you work, and other demands upon your life.

Like other qualitative research tools, the timetable must remain flexible. In face-to-face interactions, unforeseen circumstances occur that can considerably delay your plans. On one hand, this can be a source of frustration and anxiety.

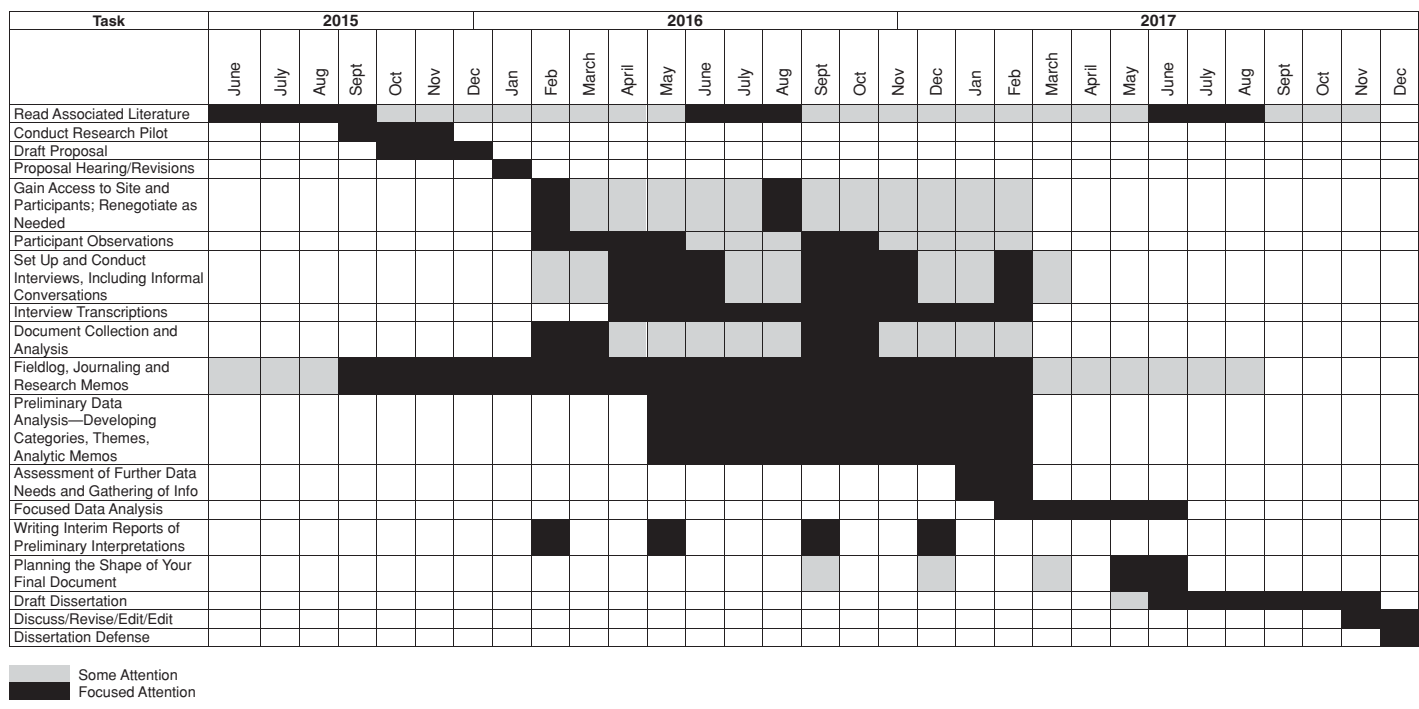


FIGURE 2.7 Example of a Dissertation Timetable

On the other, the unforeseen is part of the world of exploration, and if you are open to what you can learn from occurrences that deviate from your plans, you may use them to acquire better data and a better understanding of the people and setting under study.

MEETING PARTICIPANTS: ACCESS, RESEARCH SUMMARIES, AND THE PILOT

Gaining and Maintaining Access

Gaining access to potential research sites and participants is sometimes a simple matter, sometimes not. Gaining access involves acquisition of consent to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whomever you want, obtain and read whatever documents you require, and do all of this for whatever period of time is necessary to satisfy research purposes. If you receive full and unqualified consent, then you have obtained total access. If your access is qualified somehow, then you must explore the meaning of the qualifications for meeting research expectations: Should you redefine your research? Should you select another site?

If the study involves some sort of organization or agency, then you first make contact with its **gatekeepers**, the person or persons who must give their consent before you may enter a research setting, and with whom you negotiate the conditions of gaining and maintaining access. Since several different gatekeepers may exist, making contact can be complicated, involving different persons at different times. If, for example, you want to study in a particular elementary school, do you go first to the principal, the superintendent, or the school board? Starting anywhere but at the top of the hierarchy can be risky because acceptance by those in the lower ranks may be negated by supervisors. Yet gaining acceptance at the top is also risky because others may feel ordered to cooperate or may think that you are somehow politically aligned with one of several factions. It helps to know an insider who is familiar with the individuals and the politics involved and who can advise you in making access decisions.

If you are interested in individuals unrelated to any organizational structure, then you must make direct contact with these potential participants. Whether approaching gatekeepers or a series of individuals, you want them to say, "Yes, your study sounds interesting. You are welcome." Such a response is more likely if your research will benefit participants and/or their community in some way. Gaining access is also more likely if you are introduced by an intermediary whom the gatekeepers or potential participants know and respect. When there is not an intermediary, and even sometimes when there is, gaining access to people within a site may be best achieved by first *logging time*. Just being around, participating in activities, and talking informally with people gives them time to get used to you and learn that you are okay.

When meeting with the gatekeeper or gatekeepers, be prepared to present your research lay summary (discussed in next section), listen and respond to concerns and demands, and clarify overarching issues. Make clear that your

data—fieldnotes and interview transcripts—belong to you (or to you and the respondent) to preserve the anonymity and confidentiality that you promise. Make clear also what you will deliver. This relates to your responsibility to meet respondents' expectations for things such as final reports or consultation about certain issues. Finally, make clear the emergent possibilities of qualitative research. In other words, make sure the gatekeeper understands that during the course of research, new issues may surface that could require more discussion, initiated by either party. Gaining access is an initial undertaking. Maintaining access is another matter, occasioned by changes in the expectations and needs of both researcher and participants at any time during the research process.

Despite utmost care, rejections do occur. It is easy to overreact and become paranoid when faced with negative responses to requests to visit a site, interview, sit in a class, or attend a meeting. Although the negative response may be real, resist concluding that you will not be allowed to carry out the study. The rejection may be unrelated to anything you have done or could have done, but it is, nonetheless, a signal to reflect on what you are doing and perhaps to rethink your approach.

Sometimes denied access may turn out for the best, as it did in Lorna's pilot study of inclusion of special needs children in schools:

I initially wanted to observe more than two schools. This was probably totally unrealistic, since I very much underestimated the time involved in all aspects of the project. However, I immediately encountered some access problems. I was unable to connect with one building principal to get permission to observe in that school. Multiple phone calls where I did not get further than the secretary left me frustrated. I finally gave up and focused on the other two classrooms. This is probably the "old blessing in disguise" since I would have felt even more inundated with too many data to deal with.

Allow time for gaining access, and then do your best to make those in the research site desire to keep you around.

The Lay Summary

Part of gaining access involves creating a thoughtful research summary or information letter for potential participants. Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) tend to refer to this letter as the **lay summary** that accompanies a consent form. A research summary is a written (sometimes a verbal) description of your research that you give to research participants to help explain who you are, what you are doing, and what role you would like them to play in your research. In general, research summaries address the following points:

1. Who you are
2. What you are doing and why
3. What you will do with the results
4. How the study site and participants were selected

5. Any possible risks as well as benefits to the participant
6. If applicable, the promise of confidentiality and anonymity to participants and site
7. How often you would like to observe and meet for interviews
8. How long you expect each session to last
9. Requests to record observations and words (by notes or audio or video recording)

There is no one way to construct a research summary. What you develop depends upon the framework and needs of your research. You do, however, have the responsibility to be as clear and honest as possible in telling your research participants who you are, what you want to do and why, how you plan to go about it, and what you will do with the information you receive. You should be prepared as well for questions that participants might have, such as, “Can I see the data?” or “Will I get a copy of the final report?” Anticipate such questions and be able to give reasonable answers and explanations without promising more than you can deliver.

Following is the research summary that Rebecca gave her adolescent participants:

You are invited to participate in a research study to learn about girls’ friendship and development of their “self” (ideas about who you are and what you are like). This research is being done as part of my program as a doctoral student at the University of Vermont.

I am asking you to participate because I believe that your ideas and feelings about friendship and self would help me to better understand girls’ friendship during this time of their growing up. The benefits to you of doing this study are that you might learn some new things about yourself, you might enjoy sharing your ideas and feelings about friendship and self with other girls like you, and you might even make some new friends. In addition, your participation in this study may help me and others better understand how to help girls have good friendships and help them feel good about themselves. There is, however, a risk that sometimes, for some people, talking about relationships and how they see themselves can be upsetting.

I will be the only person (other than your parents) who knows that you are participating in this study. Anytime I use the information you give me, I will always identify you with a fake name (if you would like, you can decide what name I use for you). When I interview you I would like your permission to tape-record our interviews, sometimes videotape them, take photographs, and also take notes to remind me about what we talked about. I will be the only one who gets to listen to or see these tapes, videos, and notes, and when I am not using them they will be kept in a locked cabinet that only I have the key to. After I have finished with this study, all of these tapes will be destroyed. I would, however, like to take photographs to include in my presentation of my dissertation. If I use a photograph of you, I will use your fake name to identify the picture, and I will not pair your photograph with what you said about friendship and self. You may choose not to allow me to take photographs of you while you participate in this

study. At the end of this consent, I will ask you to check off whether you do or do not give me permission to take and use your photograph.

As part of your participation in this study, I will spend time with you and talk with you over the course of a number of weeks. I will first talk with you by yourself for an hour or two and ask you questions about friendship and yourself. During this interview, I will also ask you for the name of a friend you would like to have participate in this study with you. After I have arranged for your friend to be part of this study, I will talk with you both together and ask you questions about your friendship and how this friendship makes you feel (about 1–2 hours). Next, I will spend several periods of time with you and your friend so I can see what you and your friend do together and what you talk about (about 3–9 hours altogether, depending on what you and your friend feel comfortable with). Then I will have you get together with the other girls like you who are participating in this study and ask you as a group to talk about friendship and self (I think this part will be some sort of pizza party at my house—about 3 hours). This may be the last part of this study, but my plan is to talk with all of you at this point and see if it might be helpful for me to talk to all or some of you some more.

The most important thing for you to remember while you are participating in this study with me is that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions I ask you. All I am looking for is your opinions or ideas or feelings, and if I ask you to tell me more, or explain your answer, it is because I want to be really sure I understand what you are telling me. Always remember that in this situation you are the expert, or teacher, and you are explaining to me what friendship and self is like for you and girls like you.

You should also know that you can decide to not participate in this study or stop doing it at any time after you have started—this is your decision. If you decide to stop doing this study, your decision will not affect any future contact you have with the University of Vermont.

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, IRBs have the responsibility of reviewing all research conducted in an institution receiving federal funds for research, whether or not any of the funds go to the specific study. IRBs are charged with making sure research participants are aware of potential risks and benefits related to taking part in a study. IRB committees look specifically for research lay summaries, consent forms, and examples of interview questions or other research “instruments” in addition to generally assessing the overall design of a study. Hatch (2002) provides some helpful advice based on his experience:

Before I served on my IRB, I had my students submit their full proposals as attachments to their IRB applications, and some universities require this. Since serving, my advice is to just give institutional review committees what they ask for and to give it to them in clear, understandable language. (p. 61)

In particular, IRB committee members make sure that research participants will be informed about the research, are made aware of any possible risks in taking part, and will voluntarily give consent to be involved.

The Pilot Study

A **pilot study** helps you practice being open to learning from unforeseen circumstances and perspectives. You enter a pilot study with a different frame of mind than when you are ready to begin the full-scale study. The idea is not to get data per se but to learn about the research process, interview questions, observation techniques, and yourself. Use the pilot to determine how your lay summary works: Is it too long or not detailed enough? What else do people want to know? Does it inform as broadly as necessary to reassure others about your proposed project? Use the pilot study to test the language and substance of your interview questions, as well as the overall length of your interview. Use it to assess your observation techniques: How do those who are observed respond? What would make them feel more comfortable? Can you take fieldnotes as you observe, or should you write them up after observation periods? Less obvious than learning about your interview questions and getting a general sense of the nature of your research setting is the need to learn how to be present in that setting. Does the institution or organization have rules and expectations that you need to learn? What taboos might you need to avoid? All these aspects help you to gain access and keep it. Clarify your piloting intentions and enlist participants' help. For example, you might say, "I would like to interview you with these questions and then talk to you afterward about the questions themselves: How clear are they? Are they appropriate? What else should I be asking?"

Finally, use the pilot as a chance to inform yourself about the topic. How does your research statement hold up? Do new research questions arise? Changes in research focus may indicate poor planning, but they are also likely to indicate new learning. As Carol noted after her pilot project, "Qualitative research is like the game of twister. You spin the dial and end up somewhere else." It is important to be open to changes so that the best possible connections among researcher, research participants, and topic will result.

How many people need to be in the pilot? Again, there is no specific answer. The number and variability should be sufficient to allow you to explore likely problems, as well as to give you information on the topic and a sense of the setting and procedures to use. With the results of the pilot, you may revise your research statement, research plans, interview questions, and even your way of presenting yourself.

As you create your research proposal, make use of your pilot by describing how your research plans have been influenced by the pilot, but do not view the pilot as a study in itself. I have seen dissertation proposals in which students cited their pilot (APA format) along with statements such as "Previous research (student's name, year) showed that. . . ." You cannot make such claims from a pilot, but you can describe how your pilot indicated specific groups of people to be interviewed or topics to pursue. A pilot helps you to develop ideas and research plans and should be viewed this way.

Neither this chapter nor any other specification of prestudy tasks can exhaust the possibilities of what you personally might anticipate and do before you begin to collect data for a pilot or a full-blown study. You may engage in exhaustive,

detailed planning; or you may be comfortable with preparations well short of exhaustiveness. In this, as in so much of research, you need to find your own style, so that you will learn what works for you. Getting ready to conduct your study is not an end in itself. It is a means to the end of data production. Chapters 3 and 4 address such activity and focus on participant observation, visual research, document collection, and interviewing.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Maxwell, J. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Sage.
- Schram, T. (2006). *Conceptualizing and proposing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.

EXERCISES

Class Exercises

1. This exercise goes about research in an unorthodox way—beginning with the research participants in search of a “problem.” I suggest this exercise not as a way to *do* research, but as a way to *practice* ethnographic techniques. Consider your classmates the research participants. Now work together to create a research statement to which each student could bring some expertise. Frame your research statement in a clear, focused way. For example, the class may want to describe and analyze how part-time graduate students perceive, manage, and assign priority to their multiple roles. Or they may decide to explore the role “peer learning” has played in the education of graduate students. Develop what you consider an appropriate qualitative research statement. This statement will serve as the basis for more class exercises in chapters to come.
2. Keeping the research statement (from Exercise 1) as the core, develop three to five research questions that help to focus your topic. List possible aspects of the conceptual framework that would guide a literature review if you were to do one.
3. Review Maxwell’s (2013, pp. 30–31) five categories of goals that qualitative research can help you achieve: understanding meaning for participants; understanding context and influence of context on participants; generating theory, exploratory; understanding process; and causal explanation as applied to processes. As a class, number off by 5 with each group assigned one of these purposes. Your general area of interest is graduate education. As a subgroup, develop a research statement that would link well to your assigned purpose. Compare and discuss.

Individual Exercises

1. Diagram your current understanding (working theory) of a research issue of interest to you. What important concepts are parts of this research interest, and how do they relate? Begin searching for, reading, and taking notes on relevant literature.

2. Through writing a set of research memos, work out differences between your research statement and your research purposes. Try asking yourself what it is that you hope your research will do or change (your purposes). Then, ask yourself what is it that you need to understand that might have these effects (your research statement).
3. Draft research questions to further elucidate your research statement.
4. While discussing metaphors, author Bill Roorbach (1998) quotes comedian Steven Wright: "I've got a mind like a steel trap: rusty and illegal in thirty-seven states" (p. 126). This following exercise is adapted from one of Roorbach's writing exercises.

In a long paragraph, compare your project focus to something else. You can use what you might see as "obvious" metaphors: The school is like a factory, or implementing a new program is like constructing a building. You could also use a less obvious metaphor: The school is like a rodeo, or implementing the new program is like fishing. Extend the metaphor as far as you can go, to the absurd, while posing questions about your topic. Here's Roorbach asking questions of the mind like a steel trap:

If your mind is like a steep trap, what is the spring? What is the steel plate that triggers the release mechanism? If animals are ideas and minds are traps, do minds destroy ideas? Do ideas have lives separate from minds? Do ideas roam the wilderness? What are the furs of ideas? And tell me this: Who is the trapper running the trap line? What's the chain? What's the stake? (p. 126)

Write a second paragraph reflecting upon how this metaphor activity may have led you to think differently about or to ask some new questions of your topic.

5. Draft a research lay summary or information letter for potential research participants. What more do you need to think about and learn to be able to feel confident of being ready to hand this letter to participants?

CHAPTER 3

Being There: Developing Understanding Through Participant Observation, Documents, and Visual Research

After a hot, still day, the evening was delightfully cool. Ina, Elija, and Marcus had just entered my house in the Caribbean valley. They had been to a “sing” up on Mango Ridge. A Methodist missionary group from the United States was in the valley for the evening to preach and spread the Word. It was an occasion for a gathering—something out of the ordinary—and many attended. Ina told how a young woman asked him if he had accepted the Lord as his personal savior. Ina had said yes and produced a detailed conversion story when asked for the particulars. All three friends laughed at this and at the other invented tales they had told of evil deeds and repentance.

I laughed with them but felt uneasy. After several months in the Caribbean valley, I suddenly wondered what was truthful and what was made up in the stories I had been told. Ina, Elija, and Marcus assured me that, although they made up names and made up jobs in their earliest conversations, they no longer did this. After all, I was living in the valley with them; I was “practically Vincentian.”

Whether in a village in another country or in a school in your hometown, participant observation provides the opportunity for acquiring the status of “trusted person.” Through being a part of a social setting, you see patterns of behavior; experience the unexpected, as well as the expected; and develop a quality of relationship and responsibility with others in the setting. Participant observation ideally continues throughout the period of data collection. It is important in the beginning stages because of its role in informing you about appropriate areas of investigation and in developing a sound researcher–researched relationship. It is important as you continue because “we have no idea how to decipher or decode an action, a gesture, a conversation, or an exclamation unless we see it embedded in context” (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997a, p. 41). Participant observation grounds you in the context of the issue under investigation. It also helps you form better interview questions, connected to observed behavior and interactions. This chapter focuses on the process of participant observation and on the use of documents, artifacts, and various kinds of visual research.

THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION CONTINUUM

Participant observation is a problematic term. First, it is used in different ways (O'Reilly, 2005). Some use the term as a synonym for the whole process of doing **fieldwork** (observations, conversations, interviews, document collection). Others (and I) distinguish **participant observation** as a research method different from interviewing, although I readily acknowledge that while interviewing, the researcher often makes observations and may be participating in the social life of the community. The differentiation is more to focus the discussion of associated techniques and issues than to suggest distinct entities.

Second, the term *participant observation* is troubling because it is an oxymoron. The words contradict themselves, urging both engagement and distance, involvement and detachment (Tedlock, 2000, p. 465). The participant-observer stance can create tension within the researcher and between researcher and participants. Your observer stance can make you and others feel as though you are a spy of sorts, while your participant stance can indicate a closeness or an involvement that may be suspect because of your role as researcher (and observer). In some forms of qualitative research, such as collaborative and action research, strains in the participant-observer role are lessened or removed because the researcher either is already an insider or is invited to work with insiders on the research project. Both observations and participation contribute to what you can learn about a site, a process, and insider perspectives. You need to decide, in relation to the kind of research you choose to do, how much of a participant and how much of an observer you want to be.

You can think about participant observation as ranging across a continuum from mostly observation to mostly participation. It can be the sole means of data collection or one of several. Although your actual participant-observer role may fall at any point along this continuum, you will most likely find yourself at different points at different times during data production.

Psychologists often carry out research entirely at the *observer* end of the continuum. This role is more in keeping with the postempiricist paradigm, where the researcher has little to no interaction with those being studied. For example, the researcher may observe children in a university day-care program through a one-way glass. Similarly, the observer may sit on a city park bench, notebook in hand, observing town square activities. At the complete observer end of the continuum, people do not necessarily know that they are being observed.

Observer as participant is the next point on the continuum. The researcher remains primarily an observer but has some interaction with study participants. When another graduate student and I assisted Alan Peshkin in a study of a fundamentalist Christian school (Peshkin, 1986), we interacted with students and teachers, but for a semester, we were primarily observers, taking notes from the back of a classroom. We did not teach, give advice, or assist teachers, students, or administrators.

In contrast, I was more of a *participant as observer* during my work in Saint Vincent (Glesne, 1985). I was interested in nonformal education and interacted

extensively with others throughout my year's residency. I assisted in agricultural work, socialized, and became an intermediary, if not an advocate, in interactions with agricultural agencies. A paradox develops as you become more of a participant and less of an observer. The more you function as a member of the everyday world of the researched, the more you risk losing the eye of the uninvolved outsider, yet the more you participate, the greater your opportunity to learn.

The *full participant* is simultaneously an investigator and a functioning member of the community under study. You may already be part of the community, or you may decide to join it. In order to learn about the politics and workings of a social welfare agency, for example, you might seek employment with such an agency. Researching as a full participant is not always as easy as first perceived because you may have to manage two, sometimes conflicting, roles. Jan Yoors, in his book *The Gypsies* (1967), describes the dilemma of becoming a full participant: "I was torn between two worlds and unable to choose between them despite the Romany saying that *Yekka buliasa nashti beshes pe done grastende* (with one behind you cannot sit on two horses)" (p. 47).

Where on this continuum *should* you place yourself? Your answer depends on the question you are investigating, the context of your study, and your philosophical perspectives—to restate some of the contingencies underlying this much-used response. What applies to so much of the conduct of qualitative inquiry applies here: What is best to be done is less a case of what is established as right than of what your judgment tells you is fitting. If you are interested, as Woolfson (1988) was, in the nonverbal interaction between medical doctors and their patients during the initial, symptom-description phase, then you need to observe as unobtrusively as possible. Woolfson operated a video camera from outside the room where doctor and patient sat.

The study's context also can affect your position on the participant–observer continuum. For example, because neither Peshkin nor I was a fundamentalist Christian, we could never, without deception, be full participants in the study of the Christian day school. In his study of ethnicity in a California high school, Peshkin (1991) found himself moving from his usual "observer as participant" role to more of a "participant as observer" because he was easily and readily incorporated into the lives of the people there. Your place on the continuum also depends on your chosen methodology. If you are doing action research, you are more likely to be a full participant than if you are doing conventional ethnography.

Participant observation can contribute to different qualitative methodologies and can occur in many different contexts, even in the virtual realm of multiplayer computer games. Anthropologist Frank Schaap (2002) spent up to sixteen hours a day for two years participating in a virtual reality game called *New Carthage*, where he "studied the daily life of the citizens of New Carthage as [he] might have done in any other town" (p. 16). As he focused on the social and cultural conventions participants use to construct and perform their characters, Schaap (2002) took notes as his character (a woman named Eveline) lived in the virtual

city: “I have worked, eaten, slept, gotten drunk and fallen in love. I have loved and lost those I loved. I have killed to survive and barely survived . . . myself” (p. 16). Don’t overlook the possibilities of participant observation as you plan your research!

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION GOALS

We learn, a poet once said, though he could as well have been an anthropologist, by going where we have to go.

(Geertz, 1983/2000, p. xi)

Some people and some places are much studied. People can become jaundiced by the presence of outsiders who stay too short a time to get the picture that local folks have of themselves. Robert Caro, author of a book on Lyndon Johnson, describes his entry into the thinly populated county where Johnson grew up. At first, the local people did not trust him. Too many reporters and journalists had already come for a day or a month and had invariably misrepresented the place and its people. Caro (1988) says:

The people felt—and they were right—that they were being used, and that the things that were being written didn’t accurately reflect and convey the country they loved. When I moved there, as soon as I said “I love it here and I’m going to live here and I’m going to stay here as long as it takes to truly understand it,” their attitude really changed. (p. 227)

In contrast to the journalistic tendency to swoop in and swoop out, the ethnographic researcher means to stay long enough to get a full, **thick description** and a deep understanding.

The main goal of participant observation is to better understand the research setting, its participants, and their behavior. Achieving this goal requires time and a learner’s stance. Hymes (1982) states: “Much of what we seek to find out in ethnography is knowledge that others already have. Our ability to learn ethnographically is an extension of what every human being must do, that is, learn the meanings, norms, patterns of a way of life” (p. 29). “Rather than studying people,” agrees Spradley, “ethnography means learning from people” (Spradley, 1979, p. 3).

As a learner, you are not in the research setting to preach or evaluate, or to compete for prestige or status. Your focus is on learning from research participants, their perspectives, and their behaviors. To maintain this stance, you need to be flexible and open to changing your point of view. Mary Catherine Bateson (1984) describes the importance of this attitude in the lives of her parents (Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead) and in anthropological fieldwork in general:

Even when you take with you certain questions you want answered or certain expectations about how a society functions, you must be willing to turn your

attention from one focus to another, depending on what you are offered by events, looking for clues to patterns and not knowing what will prove to be important or how your own attention and responsiveness have been shaped. (p. 164)

Through participant observation, you also seek to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange (Erickson, 1973). The strange becomes familiar in the process of your understanding it. To make the familiar strange is often more difficult because you must continually question your own assumptions and perceptions, asking yourself, “Why is it this way and not different?” Overcome settling into a way of seeing and understanding that gives you the comfort of closure at the price of shutting down thought. Philosopher Raimon Panikkar (1979) refers to preconceived assumptions and socialized viewpoints as guiding myths: “The myth you live is comprised of the ensemble of contexts you take for granted” (p. 20). As a participant observer, you want to be open to exposing and rethinking what you have taken for granted. Only then can you begin to expand your capacity to see and understand. Panikkar describes the myths we live as “the accepted horizon within which we place our experience of truth” (p. 20). You want your horizons to be wide.

In the end, your new understandings—achieved through your learner’s stance, your flexibility, and your emphasis on making the strange familiar and the familiar strange—provide new vantage points with wider horizons, new ways of thinking about some aspect of social interaction.

THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION PROCESS

Seeing, being surrounded by the visual, doesn’t always or necessarily mean that we notice what we see. It is the paying attention, the looking and the taking note of what we see that makes images especially important to art, scholarship, and research.

(Weber, 2008, p. 42)

In everyday life, you observe people, interactions, and events. Participant observation in a research setting, however, differs in that the researcher carefully observes, systematically experiences, and consciously records in detail the many aspects of a situation. Moreover, participant observers must constantly analyze their observations for meaning (What is going on here?) and for evidence of personal bias (Am I seeing what I hoped to see and nothing else? Am I being judgmental and evaluative?). Finally, a participant observer does all of this because it is instrumental to the research, which is to say that the observer is present somewhere for particular reasons. In your ordinary, everyday life, you may be a good observer of the interaction around you, but you do not consciously record and analyze what you hear and see in the context of particular objectives that direct your behavior.

A general intention that accompanies all research is to communicate “findings.” Perhaps you are collecting data so that you can compose a thesis or dissertation.

Maybe you will create an article or prepare a report for a funding agency. You might be documenting some process as a basis for action. Thinking about this communicating goal from the beginning helps in the end. Novelist Stephen King (2000, p. 103) refers to writing as a form of telepathy. One person puts words on a page, describing a setting or an event. In a different time and place, another person reads those words and, if the transmission is good, sees and feels nearly the same thing as the writer. Realizing the possibilities of good telepathy, you need to note details, reflections, and emotional responses as you experience them. If you don't, you will transmit (and others will receive) only vague images with fuzzy edges.

Early Days of Fieldwork

Immersion in and connection to others' lives do not occur without tensions and problems. After finding a place to live in the Vincentian village, I wrote the following in my field log:

I am moved into the house—complete with bats that fly out of the sink drain, a cockroach apartment complex in the kitchen cabinets, a strange smell of something dead under the kitchen floor, bat races in the ceiling every morning at 4 A.M., no refrigeration so that even bread does not last the night without molding, and a toilet which leaks.

Moving in is easy, though, compared with moving out into the community to begin observation and informal interviews. I finally forced myself outside around 9 A.M., although I was ready to go at 7:30—I just couldn't make my feet walk out the door. I felt out of place, naïve, unsure.

Although my work took place in another culture with its attendant novelty and strangeness, immersion into an unfamiliar setting within your own country can be as anxiety-producing. Unless engaged in collaborative or action research, expect to feel like a somewhat awkward newcomer, as people rightfully wonder who you are, why you have come, what you will do, and what sort of nuisance you might prove to be. With a little effort and time, plus some skill, this awkwardness passes, and you begin to feel at ease. You need not become essential to the community to feel at ease and be welcomed; you just have to fit in with the local behavioral norms, and to be interested and respectful. The early days are also exciting and full of new learnings, but the many unknowns can create stressful situations.

After you've received overall permission to do your study, figure out where you can hang out and begin to get to know people without having to get any one person's permission to be there. If in a school or hospital, this might be the cafeteria, picnic grounds, or staff lounge. If doing research in sites unfamiliar to you, do not feel the need to "get in" with everyone, everywhere. Look for easy openings, that is, with friendly, welcoming people. Spend enough time with them so they get to know what you are doing, how you will be present, and what it is like to have you present—so that they can reassure others about

you. But try to not spend so much time with one group that you neglect others at the site.

Look for entry into closed places that are controlled in some way by a person or group, possibly by arranging for introductions through mutual friends. If formal administrative permission is given for you to observe most anywhere, do not take it as a proper invitation. Instead, arrange for the administration to announce your presence at some sort of gathering such as at a teacher's meeting; then, address all of those present with your research intentions, clarifying that you want to come to their spaces but that you will not do so unless they agree. If in a school, ask teachers if you can introduce yourself the first time you come to a class. This allows you to reassure the teacher and the students that you are there to observe, not to judge or evaluate. You can also more easily interact with students because they know who you are and why you are there.

Finally, guard against bringing preconceived opinions to your observations. This is particularly easy to do if you are or have been a teacher, nurse, or social worker yourself and then become a participant observer in a similar site. Even though you were once "there," you cannot safely assume that you know what the situation is like in your research site. All schools, hospitals, and social work agencies are not the same. For example, Sandy taught in a school where teachers were very critical of professors from a nearby university. Therefore, when she began participant observation in a school in another university town, she was hesitant to identify herself with the university—when, in fact, the school chosen for her study had a good working relationship with the university. Do not assume that you know nothing about schools, hospitals, or village life, but do assume that you have much to learn about the particular site and its people.

Observations

The focus of your observations will vary with your methodology. The advice that follows is for those involved in ethnographic work, but much applies to other qualitative research approaches as well.

When you begin your role as a participant observer, try to observe everything that is happening: Make notes and jot down thoughts without specific regard for your research statement. Study the *setting*, and describe it in words and in sketches, using all your senses. How does the setting sound and smell? In what ways does the setting change from place to place throughout your research site? For instance, if you are doing research in a K–12 school, then in what ways is the first-grade setting similar to and different from a twelfth-grade classroom? Work on making the familiar strange: If you notice that classroom doors tend to be left open (or closed), then ask yourself what this signifies.

Take note of *events*, differentiating between special events and daily events; then look for *acts* within those events. In the fundamentalist Christian school, the first event of every day was a teachers' meeting. What kind of greetings do teachers offer during teachers' meetings, and to whom? What do they informally

talk about with one another? What kinds of questions do they ask of the principal? In other words, what *acts* make up the *event* of a teachers' meeting?

Take note of the *participants* in the setting. Who are they in terms of age, gender, social class, ethnicity? What do they do and say? Who interacts with whom? What do they stop and watch, get concerned about, or react to in some significant way? Human beings communicate much nonverbally. They send messages through their clothing, their hair styles, and their accessories. They make announcements through **proxemics**, or their use of space when around others. How close do they stand to one another when talking? Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2002) note that "the body is not just a physical object; it is a social object" (p. 295). So take fieldnotes that describe not only what people are doing and saying but also what they are wearing, how they decorate themselves, and how they use and share space with others.

Another category for observation is people's *gestures*: their postures, positions, and movement, also known as **kinesis**. How do students show enthusiasm and boredom? How does the teacher? What gestures help the principal deliver his or her points? Observe which gestures jump out at you, which you take for granted, and which you might be misinterpreting. If a child lies with her head on the desk while the teacher is talking, is she sleepy, bored, or concentrating?

Cross-cultural research brings with it the recognition of either new gestures or new meanings in familiar gestures. A whispered "pssst" in the Caribbean can be a friendly "hello." Sucking air in through one's teeth with an upward motion of the head, however, is not the desired reaction to one of your serious comments: It signifies disregard, disagreement, or disdain. But you need not go to another country to find differences in how gestures are used, as those of you from marginalized groups are aware. Compared to European American children, Native American children may opt for collaborative work assignments and avoid ones that draw attention to individual success (Sindell, 1987). African American children may seek eye contact with the teacher but at a different rate than white children do (McDermott, 1987). Just as teachers, to be effective, need to be aware of cultural differences in gestures, so, too, do researchers.

As a participant observer, then, consciously observe the research setting, its participants, and the events, acts, and gestures that occur within them. Note what you think and feel as well as what you see and hear. As you continue your observations, look for patterns and begin to abstract similarities and differences across individuals and events. For example, Ginny chose to practice her observation skills in the lounge of a squash facility during a men's round-robin tournament. After a period of jotting notes, she began to see a pattern:

The winners of matches seem to stand or walk around after the match is complete. The losers always sit immediately. Blue headband wins. Red sits. Blue goes off to find a towel and water. Blondy, who had mentioned a head problem earlier, wins a match with Glasses. Glasses sits down. Blondy walks around and asks the director who is winning.

Ginny continued with more examples and concluded with questions about the behavior of male winners and losers during sports competition. She was able to move from the individuals in her observation, to their behavior, to thoughts about the more general behavior of men in sports events.

Wolcott (1981) describes four strategies to guide observations that you may also find helpful: (1) observations by a broad sweep, (2) observations of nothing in particular, (3) observations that search for paradoxes, and (4) observations that search for problems facing the group. In the broad sweep observations, you try to observe and record everything. Since doing so is impossible, you begin to be selective about what to observe and record, and then you need to reflect upon your choices. When you search for nothing in particular, you begin to note what stands out, what appears as unusual. And when you search for paradoxes and for problems, you begin to look deeper into the interactions before you. All these strategies help to make the familiar strange, make the strange familiar, and ground you in the research context.

Fieldnotes

Researchers need to remember: If you don't write it, it's gone!
(Pelto, 2013, p. 11)

Making Notes. The **field journal** or **field log** is the primary recording tool of the qualitative researcher. It becomes filled with descriptions of people, places, events, activities, and conversations; and it becomes a place for ideas, reflections, hunches, and notes about patterns that seem to be emerging. It also becomes a place for exploring the researcher's personal reactions.

The actual form of the field notebook varies with the preferences of the individual researcher. Some arrange everything chronologically in spiral-bound notebooks; others keep loose-leaf notebooks so that different kinds of notes can be easily separated; yet others take notes directly on their laptops or tablets when possible, shortcutting the transcription step of typing fieldnotes into computer files. What form you choose for keeping notes is not important. That you keep fieldnotes, however, is vital.

Fieldnotes are not written as documents to be shared. Sometimes they include observations that could be embarrassing or hurtful to participants. In addition to making sure that you do not leave your fieldnotes about for others to read, Pelto (2013) warns, "Researchers should be aware that their fieldnotes, audio recorded materials, photographs and other materials can be subpoenaed by legal authorities in most countries (including the United States)" (p. 53). Some universities stipulate, as well, that all research materials gathered under the auspices of that university belong to that university and can be requested. These circumstances put an onus on you, the researcher, to protect research participants as fully as possible even in your fieldnotes. Although burdensome and confusing, this task means using pseudonyms. Protecting research participants is discussed more fully in Chapter 6.



Carry a field notebook with you all the time, if possible. You never know when or where you will see something, talk with someone, or have a thought that you want to record.

Lofland and Lofland (1995) distinguish among mental, jotted, and full fieldnotes. You make *mental notes* of discussions or observations when writing in your notebook would not be prudent. In the Christian school study, Peshkin, the other research assistant, and I did not take notes during chapel. Rather, we made mental notes and wrote them up later. *Jotted notes* may be taken in private or in public. Also referred to as *scratch notes* (Ottenberg, 1990), they are the few words you jot down to help you remember a thought or a description that will be completed later on. *Full fieldnotes* are the running notes that you write, preferably, throughout the day, but sometimes, depending on the circumstances, as soon as possible after an observation period.

Ottenberg (1990) suggests “headnotes” as one more category of fieldnotes. These are the notes stored in your memory that do not make their way to paper at first but are accessed later on. Ottenberg states, “As I collected my written notes, there were many more impressions, scenes, experiences than I wrote down or could possibly have recorded.” The act of writing elicits headnotes: “I remember many things, and some I include when I write even though I cannot find them in my fieldnotes, for I am certain that they are correct and not fantasy.” Ottenberg cautions, however, that headnotes are “subject to distortion, forgetting, elaboration” (p. 144). It’s best to record as much as you can as it happens or as it occurs to you, to help with clear details and descriptions.

If possible, carry a notebook (tablet or laptop) with you at all times and make it known that, as a researcher, you will write. Your role will become that of inscriber, and soon, it will be expected that if anything is going on, you will write it down. Of course, not all situations lend themselves to full note taking. Agar (1973) could not

take his notebook with him when doing research on drug addiction in New York City. Other settings are more conducive. Pens, paper, clipboards, and computers are standard equipment of nurses and doctors. Researchers in these settings often find their note taking an expected action, even if they have no medical training.

All notes should be expanded later, preferably the same evening. When you review your notes, you add in things you hadn't taken the time to include while at the site and also reflect on what you've seen. These reflections help you construct your beginning theories on what's going on and help to shape the direction for more observations and questions. Some studies indicate that you can sleep on a day's events and retain your recall abilities, so that you could write up fieldnotes the morning after participant observation. Ability to remember the details needed for fieldnotes declines rapidly after that period of time, however.

Allot ample time for working on fieldnotes. If writing from mental or jotted notes, allow as much time for composing your notes as you spent in the field. If you are taking full fieldnotes, then allow several hours to clarify and expand your notes and to add reflective thoughts and ideas. Sanjek (1990) writes about his fieldnoting in Ghana: "I had kept a small notebook in my back pocket. . . . I wrote in this notebook all kinds of things seen and heard and struggled to keep my typing from it up to date. It resulted in 397 single-spaced pages of fieldnotes covering eighteen months" (p. xiv). If noting to this extent seems rather much, be assured that your ability to write quickly and to observe and remember what you saw and heard does improve with practice. You will be pleased with the trouble you took to prepare clear, ample notes when later you sit down to analyze and write. One caveat: Your comfort zone may be breached by the demands of note keeping. Find a balance between preparing notes that support your research needs and preparing them to an extent that makes research an aversive act.

Descriptive Notes. Your fieldnotes should be both descriptive and analytic. In recording details, strive for accuracy but avoid being judgmental. Write notes that, a year later, will enable you to visualize the moment, the person, the setting, the day. Summarizing observations into succinct abstract statements will not do the job. For example, after observing a class, you might be tempted to write, "The class was disorderly and noisy." This statement does not present a clear picture of the classroom, and it is judgmental because it relies on the researcher's conceptions of "disorder" and "noise." The following statements are more concrete in their descriptiveness:

The fifth-grade class contained fifteen girls and twelve boys. When I entered, they were clustered loosely into six groups. One group of four girls was trying to see who could blow the biggest bubble with her gum. A group of five boys was imitating a Kung Fu movie they had seen on TV the evening before.

Check your fieldnotes for vague adjectives such as *many* or *some* and replace them with more descriptive words. Look for and replace terms that convey an evaluative impression, that obscure rather than clarify, words such as *wonderful*, *mundane*, *interesting*, *doing nothing*, *nice*, or *good*.

Make note of the dialog that occurs. In particular, focus on words frequently used in or unique to the setting. Such terms help you in wording interview questions and often become insider- or participant-generated analytic categories in the final write-up. Be alert for familiar words that assume meanings different from your usual understanding. I spent a month in Saint Vincent before I understood that Vincentians did not use the word *country* to simply describe a nonurban area. Instead, they used *up-country* to refer to the windward, or eastern, side of the island. A young man who lived in the capital city, Kingstown, but went down leeward (to the western side of the island) every weekend to help his grandmother on her land could honestly answer that he could not remember when he was last up-country.

All your senses work together to portray details in your fieldnotes, particularly early in your fieldwork, when you are trying get an overall gist of the study and setting. Drawing sketches may help you see aspects that you might not notice otherwise. Focus on where people and inanimate objects are located in space. Are there patterns? Do they change over time?



Through sketching his observations in Paris's ballet school, Degas found that what interested him most was movement, and that becomes evident in his paintings. How might sketches be useful to your project while also honing your observation skills?

Edgar Degas (French, 1834–1917), *Ballet Dancers Rehearsing*, about 1877, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

The following is an example of descriptive notes from my field log that I wrote one early morning in Saint Vincent, after I had walked the mile to the sea from the house I was renting:

The valley stretches from the sea four-and-a-half miles inland until lost in the interior's 3,000-foot peaks. At 6:00 A.M. on a November Sunday morning, the bay is already a scene of relaxed activity. As a light rain develops, old men move into the fishermen's bamboo shelter. One curses another about his chickens. At the mouth of the river, men, women, and children gather to catch tree-tree (fish no longer than one's fingernail) by weighting burlap sacks on the river bottom with stone and then covering the sacks with "bush" (branches of trees and shrubs). The small fish seek the shelter of the leaves but are caught when the fabric is suddenly lifted

from the water. On down the black sand beach, young women and children sit where the water meets the shore. Young men swim to a fishing boat anchored farther out, climb aboard, and talk as the boat gently rocks with the rising and falling sea. A rainbow stretches from beyond a “board house” (house made of wood) on a point of land bathed in yellow light to the middle of the sea. In the other direction lies the valley, green and pastoral, with rugged hills covered in clouds.

A lane lined by sprouting fence posts leads into the valley. Cattle, horses, and sheep intermingle on the lush, river-mouth land. Thorny, palmlike trees stand out on the nearby cliffs. They soon give way to coconut palm, mangoes, breadfruit, and citrus trees. A mile into the valley, where most of the villages are, one forgets the immensity and varied moods of the nearby sea and is only aware of the enfold-ing mountains, often misty with rain. Villages sprinkle the two miles of arterial road, which, after the last village, winds on up into the mountains a short distance before becoming a track for walking and climbing to land terraced and planted primarily in eddoes or bananas. The fields continue as the land slopes steeply but then give way to natural vegetation.

These descriptive notes were intended to portray the context in which more focused observations and conversations took place. They set the scene for discussion of life within that valley. They do not try to explain what was going on; they only describe.

In addition to setting the scene, descriptive notes capture specific interactions among research participants. For an example, I pull, this time, from fieldnotes in the Kress Foundation–sponsored academic art museum study. The sections in brackets were added after the observation period.

9:30 A.M. Nov. 10, Spanish Class, Campus Art Museum

18 to 19 students follow docent into museum gallery. Curator tells me docent is sophomore, fluent in Spanish, and trained to give museum “tours” for Spanish classes. Her first tour. Talks quickly, doesn’t project well, kind of laughs when students don’t respond—am assuming she’s nervous.

Students ask no questions and don’t talk. Docent asks direct questions. I feel sorry for her. If tour in English would students talk? Are they uninterested? Or—general behavior for undergrads? They follow her, look at paintings she points out. Not talking among themselves and seem to concentrate on what she’s saying. Finally, [in front of a painting by Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García,] student answers question, “Qué significado tienen los números?” [What significance do the numbers have?] Silence is broken. Another student talks. Short discussion [in Spanish] about math and art as “universal languages.”

Docent moves them on. Students pick up their folding stools, carry them to next painting [by Spanish artist Joan Miró], open stools and sit as she links painting to Spanish Civil War. More students talk.

Another painting [Nkonda by Cuban artist José Bedia]. Deeper conversation. Docent likens interpreting a painting to interpreting a poem and how both connect with history and emotions. She asks what symbols are in the picture and what symbols might mean and how the painting made them feel. Lots of responses.

By end of session, students and docent are comfortably interacting with each other, Spanish, and art. As class ends, quiet room becomes noisy—lots of talk by students—in English—as they carry their stools back to rack near door and leave.

Although these notes are primarily descriptive, I inserted several questions or memos to myself near the beginning. Sometimes memos jotted during observations become good questions for formal interviews; others might be inquired into more informally. Jotted questions can also help to guide subsequent observations.

Novice researchers sometimes approach observations as something to do to set the scene or to add a little texture to data obtained primarily through conversations and interviews. Observations, however, work best in conjunction with interviews and conversations. They set the stage for things to discuss, for moving you out of your own assumptions of how things work, and for understanding what you are told. As narrative researchers Gubrium and Holstein (2009) state:

Narratives reduced to transcripts are flat, without practical depth or detail. . . . The issue of what is not uttered or storied as opposed to what is communicated encourages us to consider the surrounding conditions of storytelling. Such information can only be discerned from direct consideration of the storytelling process within the circumstances in which it unfolds. (p. viii)

Analytic Notes. Bateson (1984) says of her mother, Margaret Mead:

Margaret always emphasized the importance of recording first impressions and saving those first few pages of notes instead of discarding them in the scorn of later sophistication, for the informed eye has its own blindness as it begins to take for granted things that were initially bizarre. When something occurs to you, *write it down*, she said. (p. 165)

Analytic noting is a form of data analysis conducted throughout the research process; its contributions range from problem identification, to changes in research design, to question development, to identifying patterns and themes. If you take the time to develop analytic notes while doing fieldwork instead of perceiving this type of thinking as a step to do after data collection, you will be better able “to ‘check out’ different alternatives, making and recording observations that can confirm, modify, or reject different interpretations” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 105). After each day of participant observation, take time for reflective, analytic noting. Jot down ideas and impressions, clarify earlier interpretations, speculate about what is going on, write down feelings, work out problems, and make flexible short- and long-term plans for the days to come. Of course, reflective, analytic thoughts may come to you during participant observation and at other times as well. It is important to make note of these thoughts, too—to write **observer comments** as they occur to you or **memos** to yourself (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Otherwise, the thoughts are apt to slip away.

As an example, I draw again from fieldnotes in the art museum study, this time from reflective notes on my first day at a new site after the opportunity for observations and interviews in four other museums:

This museum appears more marginal to the institution than others. It is physically marginal. Although located near a parking garage and on a busy street, the

entrance is accessible only by foot or bicycle. Few signs point the way to the museum. Students often learn where things are without signage. Is this only difficult for visitors? Are students across campus aware of the museum? I was late on my first visit, despite having allowed sufficient time, because I couldn't find it. I stopped several students to ask directions, and they sent me to other museums. How integrated is this museum into campus life?

The building, although with two floors for beautifully displayed artwork, is small and has no space for events and functions, and also no print study room. How does it respond to educational needs of students and faculty? It has a conference room. Can it be used by classes? If so, how, given the limited staff this museum has due to budget cuts? Most of the institutions seem to be suffering budget cuts, but the other art museums appear to have been less affected than this one. Are budget cuts greater here? Or is there less institutional support for the art museum, and if so, why?

Students appear to have been involved in at least one of the exhibitions. Several students were also working at the front desk. How did they become involved? I am curious to learn more from museum personnel, students, faculty, and administrators. This place has a different feel.

These analytical notes move beyond initial descriptions to making comparative observations from visits to other sites. They raise questions about the role and function of the museum within its institutional context. Some of the questions I was able to easily get answered through informal discussions and interviews; others were revisited during a focused period of data analysis long after the site visit.

Research Diary. In addition to descriptive and analytic notes, it is a good idea to keep a record of your reflective and reflexive thoughts and emotional journey through the inquiry (see Chapter 5 for discussion of **reflexivity**). Some refer to this as a *research diary*. The research diary does not have to be a separate journal; rather, it is your intentions that matter. You take time to write thoughts that situate you within the research context and process. You might, for example, consider ways in which you are an insider and an outsider and what advantages and disadvantages each position provides (Hay, 2005). Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2002, pp. 95–96) suggest that you periodically ask yourself and write about the following:

1. What surprises you? (helps track assumptions)
2. What intrigues you? (helps track personal interests and positions)
3. What disturbs you? (helps track tensions and possibly stereotypes and prejudices)

Writing in your research diary becomes a means for thinking about how the research is cocreated by you and the research participants, how actions and interactions shape what follows, and where power dynamics lie. It is a location for reflecting on ethical issues that trouble you. And the research diary often becomes a place to vent or express frustration and then, through continued writing, to better understand those emotions and derive more questions or devise

new strategies. These notes also may become part of the final text, the researcher's story woven into the stories of others.

The following example is from the research diary I kept while in Oaxaca, Mexico. The notes were written after six weeks in the country. Through writing them, I figured out that I was dealing with a level of culture shock even though I had traveled and lived in many places before. I realized through writing that I didn't understand the rules by which many things worked. I felt too much an observer and outsider and unsure about how to be part of life in Oaxaca:

6:00 A.M. I'm not sleeping. I open the big window to the street to let in some fresh cool air. The air is heavy with smoke of burning garbage. I close the window and try to sleep, but I can't. I'm thinking about the people I saw begging on the street yesterday. It seems that more people beg on Sundays and I wonder if that is true or if they are just more noticeable because the streets are comparatively empty. It would be more comfortable to beg on the streets on Sunday, I think. Do people give more easily on Sunday, too? I am haunted by a woman and small boy I passed without stopping to unzip my backpack to find my purse and then unzip it to find some money. The woman had no legs and only stubs for arms. She was in a small red wagon, the kind a child might have in the U.S. Squatting next to her was a small boy, maybe seven years old. He had his head in his arms and was crying. Did he pull the woman (his mother?) to the sidewalk near the square? Does he have to care for her or is there someone else? How do they live? I think, how I could have said to the boy (and I wonder why so much of my sympathy lies with him?), "Come, there is a woman three blocks down and around the corner who makes tacos. Let's get one for you and your mother."

Why am I so taken with them and not the woman I see every day chanting for assistance near the bakery or the man with the shakes who makes the rounds of the open-air cafés or the old man who is so stooped he walks bent over? I usually give to the two men (one blind) playing beautiful music outside the museum because they are "doing" something and it is lovely. But what can the woman with no legs and arms do? I try to figure out how I can more easily (why aren't pockets put in women's clothes?) always have several pesos available to give away. Several pesos? Why shouldn't I be giving more? What does giving do?

Suddenly I hear a heavy thud, followed by the screams of a woman and, somewhere, the barking of a dog. My immediate thought is of the dog I saw hit and left on the road to die near the market on Saturday. But the dog did not bark on Saturday. The screams continue and I reopen the heavy wooden shutters. I wonder if it is some sort of confrontation, but also I know somehow someone has been hit by a car. Maybe a bus. I can see a young woman on the steps to her building across from me. She is looking on down the road. I go into the other room and pull back the curtains. A man is lying on the road and two women are kneeling over him, smoothing his hair and crying. Several people have gathered and are standing around. One motions to me to call an ambulance. The police? I don't know. Who would I call? But I cannot call. I don't have a phone. One of the women stands and takes off her white sweater and lays it on top of the man. I feel helpless and useless. I am feeling very out of place.

These notes did not focus on anything related to my research. Although the notes are full of questions, none of them were ones that I wanted to shape into interviews. Rather, they were questions of me and of how to act and interact in a place I didn't know. Feeling insecure with my research project, with not knowing people well, and with the language, I was longing to connect. Then, I was bombarded with situations pleading for my humanity and I felt frozen and distraught. To continue living in Oaxaca, I had to figure out how I was going to deal with both begging and traffic, interactions that became, for me, symbolic of learning how to move in the culture as a whole.

Noting Advice. The following guidelines are, in a sense, habits of the participant observer's trade, gained through experience. They are lore about the process of *noting* as a participant observer:

1. Make sure to include the date, time, and place of each observation.
2. If taking notes by hand, leave an ample margin for afterthoughts.
3. Create your own form of shorthand to assist in note taking by hand. For instance, in the Christian school study *Christian* soon became Xn, *student* S, *knowledge* K, *teacher* T, and *school* sch. I also use the same shortened forms for similar prepositions and other commonly used words, relying on the context to differentiate them. Thus, *became* and *because* are both noted as b/c, *with* as w/, and *without* as w/o. If you know shorthand, then you may see this made-up shorthand as inefficient; if not, then my advice is to develop your own system.
4. When taking jotted notes, do not discuss your observations with someone else before writing up full fieldnotes. Such talk not only dissipates the need to get your observations and thoughts down on paper but also can modify your original perceptions. This does not mean that you should not compare your interpretations with those of others, but you should first record your own observations and reflections.
5. Even if you have been taking full running notes throughout the day, your work is not done when the school bell rings or the sun sets. Read through the day's notes. Fill in remembered descriptions, clarify and expand briefly noted events or actions, and reflect on the day in general.
6. Invariably, unplanned occasions provide data relevant to your research question. Include these casual encounters in your fieldnotes. Qualitative research is not delimited by time or space, even though when you are focusing on an institution such as a school, data collection generally occurs within set hours in a set location.
7. Plan to read and ponder your fieldnotes frequently. If you are fortunate enough to be able to immerse yourself in the field, read through your fieldnotes weekly and write analytic memos. This is part of the ongoing analysis. You begin to see themes and connections, and to pose questions that will guide further work.

Do not worry if at first you feel either overwhelmed with all the activity in your site and unable to focus or disappointed because nothing special is happening.

Lorna felt both when she set out to observe a child with special needs who had been mainstreamed into a regular classroom:

My first observation left me feeling quite overwhelmed. I immediately was swept into a land of little, cute beings, who seemed to be swarming all over the place, chaotic, yet with some vague sense of order. Noisy, chattering, munching at snacks, getting up, sitting down, yawning, whining, working, listening, leaving, moving. At first, I couldn't even find the identified special needs child. With all that activity, I discovered how difficult it was to take notes. What should be written down? How do I stay focused? How do I deal with the little boy who asks me to help him with his spelling? And though I was specifically looking for interactions with the special needs child, at first I found nothing out of the ordinary interactions, or almost none. At first glance, except for the "shadow," the aide, I couldn't see any impact of his being in the room. Dismayed, I decided, prematurely, that this pilot study will be boring, if not simple. I was wrong, of course.

Lorna had to stick with her observations over time before she began to see "the extent of and interaction of compassion, affection, and challenge involved in including these children in regular classes."

Finally, be reassured that variety in observations does not mean that someone got it wrong. Journalist Joan Didion (1988) describes how both she and her husband wrote very different books about El Salvador despite being together all of the time that they were there. Differentiating between "institutional" and "cultural" studies of pupils, Ball (1985) states, "The landscape looks different depending on the particular hill you happen to choose to stand on" (p. 28). Subjective dispositions direct people to different things. This variety reveals the multiple realities of any social phenomenon, which together provide a fuller picture of the people, the times, and the place. Mary Catherine Bateson (1984) observes, "You record carefully what your attention has allowed you to see, knowing that you will not see everything and that others will see differently, but recording whatever you can so it will be part of the cumulative picture" (p. 164).

FIELDWORK ALLIES: DOCUMENTS, ARTIFACTS, AND VISUAL DATA

Documents and Artifacts

Archaeologists reconstruct life in past times by examining the material culture left behind. **Material culture** refers to objects or artifacts that acquire histories and are given meaning by people in that context. These artifacts provide archaeologists with the basis for hypotheses about how people fed, clothed, and housed themselves; with whom they communicated; and how they thought about gods and an afterlife. Archaeologists cannot observe and participate in the everyday life of those who once lived in the setting; they cannot interview men, women, and children. Yet, from the records people leave behind in the form of objects, archaeologists can re-create their probable lives.

You have it easier than archaeologists because you can observe people and their material culture and ask them about the meanings of their interactions. You also can access documents, defined by Altheide and Schneider (2013) as “any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis” (p. 5). Documents provide historical, demographic, and sometimes personal information that is unavailable from other sources. Documents can be one of several data sources, or they can be the main focus of an investigation, as in Altheide’s work on the “discourse of fear” as conveyed by news organizations during international and national crises (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). The following sections briefly address data collection through accessing historical and current documents and artifacts.

Archival Materials and Historical Research. To understand a phenomenon, you need to know its history. Thinking historically, you seek documents (minutes, letters, memoirs, wills, etc.) and photos or other artifacts that you might not access otherwise. Thinking historically, you might create oral history questions for some elderly respondents. And having gathered historical data, you might see differently the patterns of behavior that were evident from current data, and you might perceive a relationship of ideas or events previously assumed to be unconnected.

Historical documents give context to your study. Reviewing a town’s newspapers and institutional newsletters is one way to get started. A town’s or university’s library archives are also a good place to begin, as are archives in museums, churches, and schools. Often, you can get access to useful historical documents by letting it be known that you are interested in old letters, scrapbooks, and minutes of meetings. Such matters work in a network fashion; once you find someone delighted by your historical interests, that source will lead you to someone else.

Make use of electronic archives and website searches for potentially useful contact information or organizations with relevant historical records. Just as sophisticated search programs exist for finding journal articles or dissertations on specific topics, so, too, are a number of indexes available for finding various media reports, documents, and historical records. For example, the Vanderbilt University Television News Index and Archive tracks newscasts and special reports since 1968. If your study focused on the stigma associated with the AIDS virus, for instance, you could use this index to review newscasts on AIDS over the last thirty years and analyze changes in media portrayal and public attitudes.

Historical research can be a qualitative research project in itself, particularly when you can obtain oral histories from people who participated in some event. Yet, even when the historical occurrence is too distant for oral accounts, you can approach archival material and other documents in the same way you would interview transcripts and observation notes. First, you must figure out the focus of your search. Is it to provide a history of some social issue, such as immigration and subsequent changes in public schooling policies? Is it to provide a history of specific persons, institutions, or movements? Are you trying to show some relationship between ideas or events previously assumed to be unconnected?

Or do you want to provide a reinterpretation of past events through a different theoretical lens—for example, as scholars have critiqued international development policies in light of cultural and economic hegemony?

You may want to begin with a search for *secondary sources*, or books, articles, and documentary films related to your topic. As in any literature search, secondary sources help determine whether you should continue to pursue your research questions and what gaps your work might address. Secondary documents also help to provide a larger descriptive and theoretical framework for your study. The sources that you need to spend ample time searching for, however, are *primary documents*—documents such as letters, memoirs, wills, and financial records. If you were, for example, investigating the perspectives of veterans of World War II on war from the time of their involvement to half a century later, primary documents could include letters, diaries, interview transcripts, and photographs obtained from veterans, their families, and archives.

Based upon the number of primary documents and **archival materials** available, you will need to delineate the scope of your work. As with any qualitative study, you may need to increase or decrease any or all of the following: geographic area, persons included, time span, and human activity category. For example, years ago I worked to document women's participation in agriculture historically in the midwestern United States. Because of the sparseness of archival material on rural women's lives in the Midwest, I expanded the geographic area to include the West, and I expanded the category of *farming* to include what was often termed *gardening*, or growing vegetable and fruit crops for the farm family.

Because you may not know exactly what to look for when you first encounter your boxes and files of archival material, you need to immerse yourself in this material, just as you do when entering a new site for participant observation. Patience, determination, and time are needed to work your way through archives, but eventually you begin to see patterns within the materials. Read, note, and reflect, and you will figure out what categories of information and perspectives you want to develop.

Current Documents and Artifacts. As a society that venerates the written word, we have many types of written documents. Diaries, letters, memoranda, graffiti, notes, memorials on tombstones, scrapbooks, membership lists, newsletters, newspapers, computer-accessed **blogs**, and Facebook postings are all potentially useful documents. In addition to documents that you seek out from libraries, organizations, and computer searchers, you can ask research participants to produce documents for you: to keep diaries, journals, or other kinds of records. If working in a school, after obtaining all necessary consent forms you may be able to collaborate with teachers so that assignments simultaneously meet the needs of students, teachers, and researcher. For instance, if you are interested in children's self-concepts, you may be able to persuade English teachers to ask their students to write self-portraits and then let you read them.

While in Saint Vincent, I asked the children who found my home an entertaining hangout to draw themselves as they imagined they would be when grown. From these drawings, I pulled out themes for comparison with the themes that

emerged from interviewing young adults. I also analyzed the reggae and calypso music played in Saint Vincent (particularly that composed by Vincentians for Carnival) for its agricultural and educational messages, and some stanzas eventually accompanied observations and interviewees' words in the final document.

Notwithstanding your comfort with the written word, do not forget other potentially useful artifacts: "Artifacts are objects that participants use in the everyday activity of the contexts under examination" (Hatch, 2002, p. 117). When you *read* an artifact, you try to get at the stories that it embodies. Artifacts of one culture, group, or individual may appear to an outsider as just "stuff," albeit possibly artistic and attractive. To the insider, however, these artifacts tell specific stories. They often have both function and meaning. For example, throughout the world, many indigenous groups continue to weave traditional fabrics, using intricate designs and color combinations. Outsiders often collect these weavings, appreciating the skill and beauty, but without necessarily knowing what the weavings "say." At a glance, an insider might know, for example, what community the person wearing the woven garment came from, if she were married or single, and the spiritual beliefs or ancestral tales linked to specific designs.

Within the same culture, an object may have a usual function and then be assigned a creative new meaning, as often happens within subcultures. Consider, for example, how the Volkswagen bus became associated with hippies in the 1960s or how the meaning of having a tattoo changed in the United States when appropriated by pop culture. In addition, an object can embody very personal meanings. As Mitchell (2011) points out, physical objects "carry with them social and historical narratives" and also "have the potential to evoke and carry with them autobiographical narratives" (p. 50). They can serve in much the same way as photographs do to elicit experiences and stories from the participant. If you are in a person's home or place of work and ask about personal objects you see, long conversations may follow that take you to unexpected places.

Something as seemingly insignificant as a small pottery cup could be the source of many varied stories.



For example, here are some of the stories that I might tell if someone asked about a small pottery cup on the table next to my sofa. I could talk about what it *denotes* (literal meaning) in terms of the kinds of pottery found in Oaxaca, Mexico. Historically, all pottery vessels were utilitarian ware until the arrival of plastics and tin and tourists. I could talk about current production techniques of some potters that are the same as those used 2,000 years ago. I could also talk about what the particular cup on my table *connotes*, or means to me. The story would begin with telling about a skilled Oaxacan potter who had died, but some of his work still existed in his studio in the family home. It would include my search for the pottery studio, walking back and forth on the street with the address I had been given, discovering in the process that this was one of the places in Oaxaca for street prostitutes. This tale could turn denotative at this point and talk about the conditions of prostitution in Oaxaca, of the middle-aged women who participate, often from countries further south, and of the conditions that lead them to the streets. Finally finding the right address, I would continue the story with meeting a daughter of the potter, and with her escorting me into the studio with dust-laden shelves and green or brown glazed pottery, mostly quite large. It would include noticing a large photograph on the wall that was of the potter with a man in a white suit. Sprawled over the white suit was the signature of D. H. Lawrence. Back in my Oaxacan apartment, I examined the small cup I had purchased and could make out a finger print in the glaze on the bottom. Thinking about how my hands cradled the cup made by the potter's hands that shook the hand of D. H. Lawrence, I wrote a poem. But the story does not end there. I could tell of my return to the studio years later, learning that all the pottery had been sold and dispersed, some to museums, some to collectors, and one tiny cup to my home in North Carolina.

Observe which artifacts are common and which are unusual in your research site. Observe who interacts with them, when, and how. Seek out their stories. These observations and stories easily lead to other observations, questions, and ultimately a deeper understanding that would not have been reached any other way.

Visual Data: Photography, Video, Maps, and Diagrams

Technological advances drastically expand the possibilities of using visual data in research. Before the digital revolution, extensive use of photography and videography was costly, cumbersome, and intrusive. As this is no longer the case, Banks (2007) identifies three general ways in which researchers make use of visual data:

1. The researcher documents aspects of social interactions or of material culture through creating photographs, film, or images;
2. The researcher gathers, analyzes, or makes use of images created or used by research participants, such as personal photograph albums, magazines, or television programs; and
3. The researcher and research participant collaborate in the creation and/or study of images. (pp. 6–7)

These uses receive attention in the following sections.

Researcher-Created Visual Data. Anthropology and psychology researchers began to use photography in the nineteenth century, viewing the camera as a scientific tool that would allow them to classify and demonstrate differences between individuals or groups of people. For example, facial expressions of inmates in insane asylums were taken to identify characteristics that could distinguish them as “mad.” Researchers today clearly use photography and video in other ways, generally to extend observations. Grimshaw (in Bottorff, 1994) describes the advantages of photographic/video use as *density* and *permanence*. The density of data collected through film is greater than that of human observation or audio recording, and the record is permanent, in that it is possible to return to the observation repeatedly.

Collier and Collier (1986) describe photography as “an abstracting process of observation but very different from the fieldworker’s inscribed notebook” in that photography gathers *specific* information “with qualifying and contextual relationships that are usually missing from codified written notes” (p. 10). This was true for Munoz (1995), who studied work, love, and identity in youths living in Puerto Rico. She reflected upon how photography contributed to her work:

Photographs still what is moving so I can see it without blur: time, place, a glance, posture, details (What does her face express? What do his eyes say? What color is the dress she’s wearing? The shirt he’s wearing? What kind of material? Does she have earrings on? Do they have wedding rings? What is their hair like? What are their hands like?). All these combine to give a portrait, in black and white of a person caught at a particular moment in time....Photographs provide another approach to knowledge that literally brings me face to face with my questions and their answers. (pp. 60–61)

Photographing inside the seed bank at the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines.



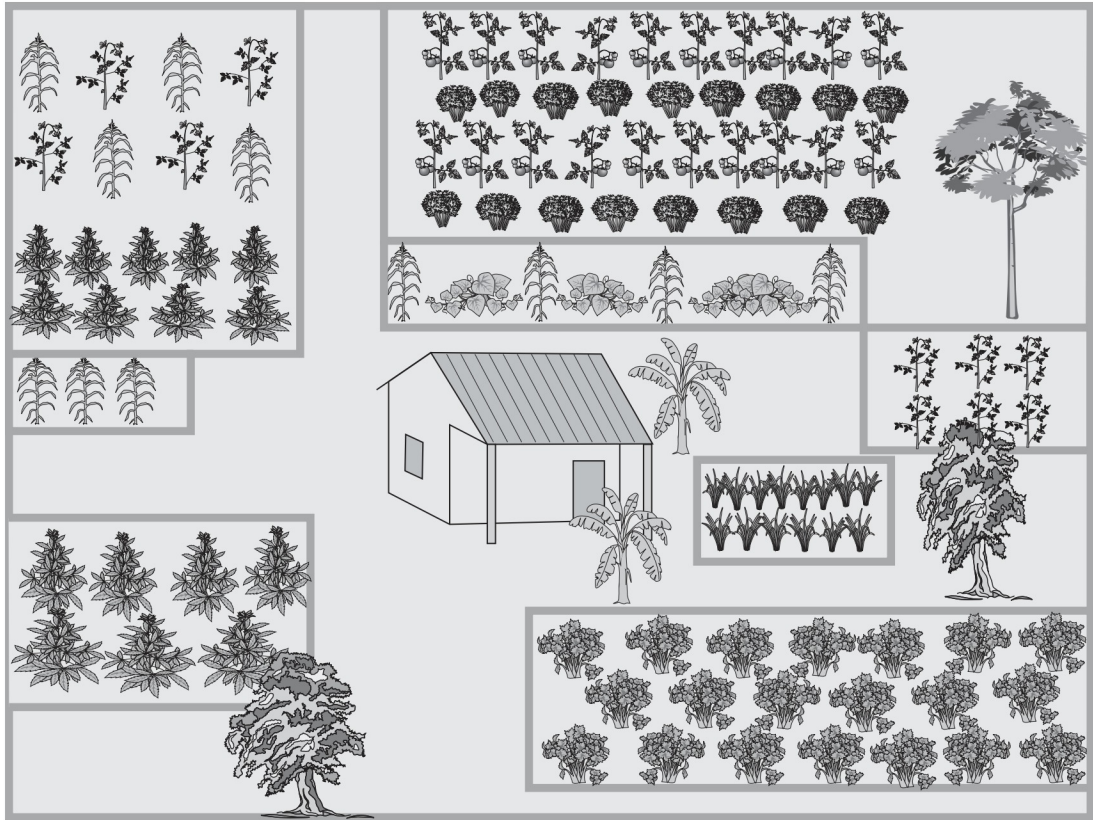


FIGURE 3.1 Map of Smallholding Intercropping

From C. Glesne. (1985). *Strugglin', but no slavin': Agriculture, education, and rural young Vincentians* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois, Urbana, p. 71.

Videography is the primary means of data collection in some qualitative methodologies such as ethnomethodology or microanalysis. Videos may be played and replayed, analyzed frame by frame, as a means for close observation aimed at uncovering the linguistic cues and/or practices used by people to perform some aspect of their everyday lives. For example, Pat wanted to understand how low-income mothers help their children learn. She had access to videos of mothers and their children in laboratory-play situations, and she observed the tapes over and over. Then, she interviewed the mothers, using her observations as a guide for question development. Through her observations and interviews, Pat developed a detailed coding manual that incorporated both behavioral and cognitive information for analyzing the videos. Bottorff (1994) warns that a limitation of this type of data collection includes the lack of contextual data beyond the recording and the missed opportunity to be an active participant who is able to test

emerging theories as they develop. By relying too heavily on videography, you can lose the value of being a *participant* in participant observation.

In addition to photography, you can generate other forms of visual data, such as drawings, maps, and diagrams throughout the study. Researchers often sketch features of the research site to indicate how, for example, a teacher sets up her classroom or where plots of land are located in relation to people's homes. For example, see Figure 3.1 for a map of agricultural intercropping on a smallholding in Saint Vincent. You can use mind maps, charts, or diagrams to help focus your topic or to tease apart beginning theories about what's going on within the research site. You might use these visuals to help produce questions and analytical thoughts while doing your research, and you might include diagrams in your final presentation as succinct demonstrations of select aspects of the research. Just as outlining works better for some than for others, so does the process of diagramming. It's a visual way to work with observations, thoughts, and their relationships.

Participant-Created or -Used Visual Data. Researchers in communications and media studies frequently focus on the visual data (movies, television shows, magazines) used by research participants and analyze the content in some way. Ethnographic researchers are more apt to ask for participant-generated photos to help provide historical and cultural context for a study. Peshkin (1978), for example, asked residents of his rural school-community study to show him their family albums, which sometimes contained pictures dating back seventy years. Such pictures not only captured the past in a special way but also served as the basis for interviewing, suggesting topics that Peshkin would not have considered if he had not seen the photographs. Termed **photo-elicitation**, participant-generated photographs can be used to "invoke comments, memory and discussion" (Banks, 2007, p. 65). Shy or reticent interviewees are often put at ease when given a photo to turn to rather than having to make eye contact with the interviewer. This works

In this mural in Oventik, Chiapas, marginalized and oppressed sectors of society are coming together and uniting under the auspices of the Zapatista movement. The mural includes many symbols with deep cultural connotations, including the clothing of the man on the left and the conch shell, or caracol, that he is blowing.



particularly well with children. Although photos or images with which respondents are unfamiliar are sometimes used in photo-elicitation, qualitative researchers are more likely to use participant-generated photos because the research intent is to learn from participants about their lives, not to study their responses to particular images, as in a psychological experiment. Think about participant-created photos or videos as objects with “biographies” (Kopytoff, 1986), whose stories can be told by the participants in your study.

Collaboratively Created and/or Studied Visual Data. With the advent of disposable cameras, researchers started giving participants cameras to document specific aspects of their own lives (Mitchell & Allnutt, 2008). For example, special educator Bruce was interested in families’ perceptions of their children with disabilities. He gave a camera to each family and asked them to take pictures of the child and family members in everyday activities. A member of his research support group suggested that he give each family another camera and ask family members to take five pictures each that for them symbolize the child but without the child in the picture. He could then interview family members about their pictures and learn about items that otherwise he would not have seen or asked about.

Sometimes, visual data are created and studied collaboratively by the researcher and research participants to identify and address particular problems and struggles. Banks (2007, p. 78) describes a study in which two researchers (Schratz and Steiner-Loffler) gave small groups of primary school children cameras and asked them to take photographs of places in the school that made them feel good and of places that did not make them feel good. In teams of four, each group first discussed “good” and “bad” places as well as how they wanted to take the photos. Did they want students, teachers, or no one to be in the photos? Did they want the shots to be candid or posed? Each team then took photos, printed them, and created a poster of selected pictures accompanied by the team’s reasons for its choices. Finally, each team presented its poster to the class. This process provided a great deal of information about ways to make the school a better place from the perspectives of the children attending.

When participants choose what photographs to take and which ones to present, participants gain voice in the research process (Mitchell & Allnutt, 2008; Prosser & Burke, 2008). If participants perceive ways in which the visual media can assist them in delivering specific perspectives to some intended audience, then researchers can collaborate in powerful ways by making the expressions public. This process is often referred to as *photovoice* in that the images are created by participants and give voice to their perspectives, apprehensions, and desires about aspects of their lives.

Maps and diagrams also may be created collaboratively as a way to generate data and, like photovoice, to signify areas of tension or concern for participants. In what is referred to as **participatory mapping** (also *community mapping* and *ethnocartography*), a group of people work together to map or diagram some material aspect of their lives, usually with the assistance of a facilitator/researcher. For example, the group walks through an area, mapping as they go the agricultural

use of watershed land or distribution of households by socioeconomic class, ethnicity, and access to resources. Or a group could collectively produce another sort of visual representation (e.g., drawing, diagram, chart) to convey relationships among key stakeholders, institutions, resources, or some contested issue in their community or group (Hay, 2005, p. 289). As they work together creating the map or other form of visual representation, group members discuss what works well and where problems lie.

Participatory mapping has been a powerful tool in participatory action research and in postcolonial inquiry. Anthropologist Mac Chapin, for example, worked with indigenous groups in Panama to create maps of their territories that included traditional boundaries as well as geographic and human-constructed places of local significance. Through employing the maps to demonstrate use of the land over time, the groups were increasingly able to gain legal claim to their homelands that were and are disappearing through governmental and outside encroachment: “Long-time victims of map-wielding outsiders, they are now learning about cartography so they can do battle on more-even terms” (Chapin & Threlkeld, 2001, p. 21). Visual data, documents, artifacts, and other unobtrusive measures provide both historical and contextual dimensions to observations and interviews. They enrich what you see and hear by supporting, expanding, and challenging your portrayals and perceptions. And they may assist participants achieve greater voice and power.

Just as writing fieldnotes should become a daily practice, you may want to also incorporate a regular practice of electronic document collection in which you take a few minutes to seek out newspaper articles, blogs, movie clips, and so on related to your topic and to file them for easy access later on (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Filing does not mean creating another pile on the floor or another file folder on the computer labeled “documents.” Rather, you need to “develop a system for labeling and keeping track of what the objects are, where they came from, and why they have been gathered” (Hatch, 2002, p. 122). Doing so as you collect such data saves time and frustration later on.

Table 3.1 summarizes various kinds of observational data that might become part of your research. Inspired by and expanding upon work done by Holliday (2002, pp. 71–72), this table suggests ways in which the data might be documented and their possible uses in your overall research project.

MARGINAL OR COMPANION?

The participant observer’s role entails a way of being present in everyday settings that enhances your awareness and curiosity about the interactions taking place around you. You become immersed in the setting, its people, and the research questions. One way to test if you are being there appropriately is whether you find within yourself a growing determination to understand the issues at hand from the participants’ perspectives. This indicates that you have been able to at least question, if not suspend, your personal judgment and concerns. Another test

TABLE 3.1 Description, Documentation, and Use of Observational Data

OBSERVATIONAL DATA	DESCRIPTION	DOCUMENTATION BY RESEARCHER	TYPICAL RESEARCH USE
Setting Appearance	How a setting and/or people look	Observation notes, field journal, drawings, diagrams, photographs, video	Introducing setting, people, and/or situation in final report
Acts	Everyday behavior; what a person does	Observation notes, field journal, photographs, video	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description; pattern analysis; generates hunches or hypotheses
Events	Series of acts or behaviors, generally involving more than one person and bounded by time, planned or unplanned (e.g., a meeting or an argument)	Observation notes, field journal, photographs, video	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description; pattern analysis; generates hunches or hypotheses
Processes	Explicit and implicit rules, regulations, and rituals that describe how a program, institution, or group works	Observation notes, field journal, diagrams	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description; pattern analysis; generates hunches or hypotheses
Talk	What people say to each other	Observation notes, video, audio recorder	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description
Documents and Visual Material	Minutes of meetings, diaries, letters, notes, wills, financial records, photographs, drawings, etc., that come from research site(s)	Notes and copies made from archival research, library research, documents created by and/or shared by participants, found documents, etc.	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description; pattern analysis; content analysis; generates hunches or hypotheses
Artifacts	Graffiti, murals and other items created by participants as well as evidence of accretion	Observation notes, photographs, video	Raises questions for interviews; supports or challenges interview data; thick description; generates hunches or hypotheses

is whether or not you are seeing things you have never noticed before. After Andrea began her study of a community, she wrote the following in her field log:

I went to a local restaurant for breakfast, caught myself watching the gathering of men at the breakfast bar, and found myself wondering for the first time: Who are those men? Why do they come here? How come I never noticed them before? Should I find out who they are—perhaps they represent some potential research rock yet unturned? I enjoy this newly honed sense of seeing.

Another gift of immersion is that everything you read and hear can be connected, or at least considered for connection, to your phenomenon. Ideas are generated and notes pile up. It is a time of transformation, when a research persona emerges with a life of its own.

As discussed earlier, how much of a participant you can or should be in a study varies. Horowitz (1986) takes issue with the implication that the researcher is essentially free to choose the degree and form of participation, and she sees fieldwork roles “as interactional matters based on processes of continuing negotiation between the researcher and the researched. Together, the qualities and attributes of the fieldworker interact with those of the setting and its members to shape, if not create, an emergent role for the researcher” (p. 410). Research participants may, for example, assign the researcher a role in keeping with their own conceptual frameworks. Horowitz was identified as a “lady” (which meant she was sexually unavailable) and as a “reporter” by the young male gang members she studied. The roles allowed her access to considerable information but kept her from some areas of discussion and observation.

Part of the negotiation of research roles is over how marginal to or how integrated into the setting you will be, or where on the participant-observation continuum you find yourself. In conventional ethnography, researchers were often referred to as *marginal natives* (Freilich, 1977) because, although they grew close to research participants, they generally remained sojourners who were physically (back of classrooms) and psychologically (neutral and uninvolved) at the margin of life in the research setting. Remaining marginal “allows one to continue to spend time with groups when they are no longer friendly” (Horowitz, 1986, 426) with each other. The point of the margin is that it offers the vantage of seeing without being the focus of attention, of being present without being fully participant, so that you are free to be fully attuned to your research.

In some situations, research participants will expect and, indeed, demand you play a marginal, nonintrusive role. In other situations, research participants may see you as aloof or even as exploitative if you attempt to remain marginal and separate from their lives. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) describes how, as a Peace Corps volunteer, she had spent time in an economically poor community in Brazil. She was active immunizing babies, administering penicillin injections, and working as a community organizer to create a community center and cooperative day nursery. Fifteen years later, she returned to the same community as an anthropologist to study mother love and child death. Old neighbors and friends welcomed her back but grew weary and disillusioned with her proclaimed researcher role. They

wanted her to help them as she had before. She resisted and told them, “I cannot be an anthropologist and a *companheira* [comrade, friend ‘in the struggle’] at the same time” (p. 17). Scheper-Hughes continued to conduct interviews and to remain somewhat marginal to the community until confronted by the women. They told her that when she next returned, she “would have to ‘be’ with them—‘accompany them’ . . . and not just ‘sit idly by’ taking fieldnotes” (p. 18). Scheper-Hughes returned five years later and assumed the combined role of anthropologist-*companheira*. Although she found this role difficult to balance, it also served to enrich her understandings of the community as she demonstrates in her moving ethnography, *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (1992).

As participation increases, marginality decreases, and you begin to experience what others see, think, and feel. This can be absolutely worthwhile for yourself and research participants; no amount of advantageous marginality can replace the sense of things that participation offers. How you combine participation and observation will be dictated by what you hope to understand, your methodology, your theoretical stance, and your research participants. The final part of this chapter continues with a discussion of the issues that Scheper-Hughes raises concerning marginality and participation. In this vignette, drawn from my experiences in Mexico, the same concept as that used in Brazil was used: the desire for the researcher to *acompañarse*, or to accompany community members in their work.

Efrain and Enrique were informal leaders of the youth group in Oaxaca. After we decided to work together as coresearchers, we began discussing how the research would look. We created a kind of action research statement, describing our intent as one of documenting the ways in which groups of youth were shaping their life options in rural Oaxacan communities and inquiring into possible roles in this process for Efrain and Enrique’s group. I, of course, suggested we gather data through participant observation and interviews. My coresearchers were clear in their response: They did not think highly of either interviews or observations.

From their experiences, people had come to study them, not *with* them, and they did not want to repeat that pattern. They described how a young woman from the United States, who was studying in Oaxaca for a semester, asked if she could spend time with them to learn more about their youth group organization. In their hospitable way, they welcomed her. She arrived with a notebook and proceeded to move from the outside picnic tables to the office space to the meeting/eating area, taking notes. They suggested she put down her notebook and engage in conversation with them, but she resisted, saying they should ignore her, that she was just there as a participant observer.

As this chapter has suggested, the woman’s decision to set herself apart is not the only way to be a participant observer, but discussions with my coresearchers made me more aware of possible responses to the term and how alienating it can feel to be the recipient of another’s gaze. Efrain and Enrique emphasized that we must work to not set ourselves apart from the youth we would be visiting. They suggested that instead of participant observation, we learn through accompanying the youth in their work, to engage in reflective dialog (rather than interviews) with them, and to interact with other community members as well because

the youth could not be separated from the communities of which they were part. The purpose was not, as my coresearchers put it, to observe someone as distant and different from them, but to learn through doing and moving with friends.

You may or may not be able to fully accompany others in their lives or even to be welcomed in the pursuit of doing so. Whether or not you seek to accompany those with whom you want to do research is, however, increasingly a key question for many in determining research purposes.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson/Allyn & Bacon.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R., & Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sanjek, R. (Ed.). (1990). *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

EXERCISES

Observation Activities

1. With one or two classmates, attend a public event where you can take fieldnotes. Be as descriptive as possible. Afterwards, share fieldnotes, noting differences and commonalities. What did you learn from each other's notes? What might you do differently next time?
2. To activate your reflective mind as you take notes, draw a vertical line down the middle of several pages in your observation notebook. Then, choose an activity to observe daily over a week's time, such as use of the university library. Every day for a week, note your observations on the left side of the line. On the right, reflect on the meanings of changes or differences in what you see and hear. What questions arise for you? At the end of the week, write a short reflection on what you learned about the topic and about noting through this activity. (See Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2002, for similar observation activities.)
3. Go to your proposed research setting (or a similar setting) with your field notebook. Banks (2007) suggests that researchers "try to imagine what their chosen area of study would 'look' like if all visual forms were removed" (p. 55). Take Banks's suggestion. Write about your research setting with the sense of sight removed. What do you know about it through your other senses? In what ways do you need to better attend to these other senses during the next observation period? What does the visual imagery add to your research?
4. To work on analytic noting, carry out several more observation sessions at your research site. Then read through your fieldnotes and try to identify several patterns of activity. What events make up each activity? Who tends to participate and in what kinds of interactions? You most likely won't have all the answers at this

point, but raising questions is part of your analytical work. Now, look at the descriptors you've used. Pick out those that best evoke the scenes and activities. Write a vignette that is both descriptive and analytic. Share the vignette with a classmate for feedback.

5. After several observation sessions, bring your fieldnotes to class and sit with a partner.
 - Look at each other's fieldnotes to see that the observation pages are numbered consecutively (if not in a bound notebook), and that each page is dated, with time and location noted.
 - Note ways in which the fieldnotes are descriptive. How are they analytic?
 - Do the fieldnotes show evidence of elaboration and reflection after observation periods?
 - What suggestions do you have for each other?

Document, Artifact, and Visual Activities

1. Brainstorm ways to gather data on your topic other than observations or interviews (e.g., collecting diaries, student papers, scrapbooks; taking photographs or drawing; or asking participants to take photographs or to draw). Pilot with a research participant, and then reflect upon what you learned and what new questions arise.
2. Think about types of historical documents (e.g., policy papers, minutes, letters, newspaper articles, photos) you could access that would help situate the historical context for your project. Do not forget library archives, which often have collections of people's personal papers (e.g., journals, letters, expense logs) that might be useful for your work. Check out several of these possible sources and reflect on what each might contribute to your work.
3. In addition to books and journal articles, the Internet can help you find contact information for potentially relevant organizations or individuals; applicable chat groups, blogs, YouTube videos, and newsgroups; and germane documents and other artifacts. Seek some of these resources for additional information on your topic. Where does the search take you? How might these new pieces of information influence your research direction?
4. Ask about a seemingly meaningful artifact at your inquiry site. Work to uncover the biography of the artifact and its denotative and connotative meanings for that person. What does doing this exercise add to your inquiry questions?

CHAPTER 4

Making Words Fly: Developing Understanding Through Interviewing

Think of interviewing as the process of getting words to fly. Unlike a baseball pitcher, whose joy derives from throwing balls that batters never touch, you toss questions that you want your respondents to “hit” and hit well in every corner of your data park, if not clear out of it—a swatted home run of words. As a researcher, you want your “pitches”—your questions—to stimulate verbal flights from respondents who know what you do not. From these flights comes the information that you transmute into data—the stuff of dissertations, articles, and books.

Getting words to fly is the subject of this chapter. It is a simple matter to express: Develop a clearly defined topic; design interview questions that fit the topic; ask the questions with consummate skill; and have ample time to “pitch” the questions to knowledgeable respondents. As with pitching balls, however, the process of creating good interviews takes practice.

What type of interaction is an interview? An interview is between at least two persons, but other possibilities include one or more interviewers and one or more interviewees. Interviewing more than one person at a time sometimes proves very useful: Children often need company to be emboldened to talk, and some topics are better discussed by a small group of people or a *focus group*, as discussed later in this chapter. In conventional approaches, researchers ask questions of one person at a time in the context of purposes they have determined. Respondents answer questions in the context of dispositions (motives, values, concerns, needs) that researchers need to unravel in order to make sense of the words that their questions generate. The questions, typically created by the researcher, may be fully established before interviewing begins and remain unchanged throughout the interview. These are called *structured interviews*. Questions often emerge in the course of fieldwork and may add to or replace preestablished ones. These are referred to as *semistructured interviews*. The researcher also may develop questions on the spot through dialog and interactions with only the research focus leading the way. These are known as *unstructured* or *conversational interviews*. Generally, qualitative researchers use semistructured interviews—the scenario for the advice in this chapter. They begin with a set of interview questions, remain open to re-forming and adding to those questions throughout the research process, and incorporate impromptu depth-probes as needed throughout interview sessions.

The questions you bring to the interview, therefore, are not set within a binding contract; they are your best effort before you have had the chance to use them with a number of respondents. However much you have done to create useful questions, you should think of them tentatively, so that you are disposed to modify or abandon them, replace them with others, or add new ones to your list of questions, or **interview schedule**. The more fundamentally you change your questions, however, the more you may have to return to people whom you thought you had finished interviewing in order to ask them questions that emerged in interviews with others. In general, it is not advisable to say final good-byes to respondents; leave the door open to return.

Interviews figure into research projects in different ways. You may want to learn about events or experiences that you cannot see or can no longer see, as in oral and life history interviews. Myrdal (1965) reconstructed—through oral history interviews with many people—the transition in rural China between the passing of Chiang Kai-Shek's regime and the ascendancy of Mao Zedong. In a more recent example, Wieder (2004) elicited testimonies of teachers in South Africa who had fought apartheid. **Oral history inquiries** focus on historical events, skills, ways of life, or cultural patterns that may be changing (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). **Life history inquiries** focus more on the life experiences of one or several individuals. In *Baba of Karo* (1954), Smith re-created—through life history interviews—the story of a Nigerian woman of the Hausa tribe. Through oral and life history interviews, researchers work to “learn the rules, norms, values, and understandings that are passed from one generation of group members to the next” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 168). Oral and life history interviews can serve also as a kind of witnessing that challenges and counters the “official story,” through documenting voices silenced or ignored by the mainstream culture (Wieder, 2004).

Instead of interviewing about past experiences and events in people's lives, you might want to seek perceptions and attitudes toward some topic, such as teachers' opinions about state-mandated changes in the middle school science curriculum. How do they perceive the impact of the changes on their work as teachers? What is their attitude toward this impact? Concerned about the utility of the state's curricular mandate, you might conduct interviews to obtain data that will be instrumental for understanding teacher conceptions of teaching science and perceived obstacles to implementing proposals for reform. This would be a form of *topical interviewing* that focuses more on a program, issue, or process than on people's lives.

The opportunity to learn about what you cannot see and to explore alternative explanations of what you do see is the special strength of in-depth interviewing. To this opportunity add the serendipitous learning that emerges from the unexpected turns in discourse that your questions evoke. In the process of listening to respondents, you learn what questions to ask. Observation puts you on the trail of understandings that you infer from what you see, but you cannot, except through interviewing, get the actors' experiences, perceptions, and explanations.

DEVELOPING QUESTIONS

Question Content

Novice researchers sometimes confuse research questions with interview questions, thinking that they can modify their research questions to produce their interview schedule. “Your research questions identify the things that you want to understand; your interview questions generate the data that you need to understand these things” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 77). Although interview questions should be related to research questions, interview questions tend to be more contextual and specific. Their development “requires creativity and insight, rather than a mechanical conversion of the research questions into an interview guide” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 101).

What, then, is the origin of the interview question? In ethnographic research, the experience of learning as participant observer often precedes interviewing and is the basis for forming questions. The things you see and hear about the people and circumstances of interest to you therefore become the nuggets around which you construct your questions. The questions are anchored in the cultural reality of respondents and drawn from their lives. Some questions may be generated directly from that cultural reality, particularly if the interview takes place where the respondent lives or works. The researcher interested in science education and project-based learning, for example, may ask questions about particular pieces of students’ work on the walls of the classroom. When Sarah interviewed student teachers about their classroom practices, she knew what to ask because she had both sat in their prepractice teaching-methods class and later watched them perform in their own classrooms. But she also could have known what to ask by having taught a teaching-methods class and supervised student teachers. In both cases, she could enhance the experiential foundation from which she generated questions by talking with others in the know, such as former student teachers and supervisors of student teachers, as well as by reading the relevant literature and acquainting herself with theories in the field.

Theory, implicit or explicit, underlying some behavior is an important source of questions. Daren, for example, planned to investigate “the returning dropout,” young people who dropped out of high school but later returned to study in an adult education program. Daren’s questions originated from his knowledge of the literature, his reasoning, and his experiences in adult education. They reflected theoretical considerations regarding his topic. He asked, for example:

- For what reasons did returnees leave school in the first place? (suggests connection between leaving and returning to school)
- How did parents react to their decision to drop out? (suggests likelihood of a parental role in leaving and returning)
- Did they have friends who also dropped out? (suggests peer influence could motivate leaving and returning)
- How did they learn about the adult education program? (suggests possible influence of the source of knowledge about the program)

- In what ways were treatment of students and contents of instruction different in the adult program than in the high school program? (suggests appeal of some particular features of the adult program compared with the high school program)

These discrete questions do not amount to a theory; they do, however, reflect some of Daren's implicit theory about how to go about understanding the complex phenomenon of returning to school. The answers he receives to these questions plus his continued reading on the topic will most likely suggest other theoretical perspectives around which to create new questions.

Your methodology also helps determine what kinds of things are asked about because of associated assumptions about what it is important to know. Theoretical assumptions of ethnography, for example, include these: Although highly variable and context specific, social behavior reflects patterns of a culture, and it is possible and important to discern and interpret these patterns. These assumptions guide the ethnographer in creating interview questions about the ways in which people do things, the kinds of experiences and attitudes they have, and the meanings they make of behaviors and perspectives. Narrative inquiry, although often similar to ethnography, places more emphasis on people's stories and assumes that they are "a natural, obvious, and authentic window into how people structure experience and construct meaning in their lives" (Schram, 2006, p. 105). This and other theoretical perspectives of narrative inquiry lead the researcher to conduct multiple interviews with participants and to pay as much attention to *how* narratives are constructed as to *what* is said. A poststructuralist theoretical assumption is that if interviewers claim taking a neutral stance, "They create a hierarchical, asymmetrical (and patriarchal) relationship in which the interviewee is treated as a research 'object'" (Rapley, 2007, p. 19), and the interviewee's words are taken as something existing outside the research process. This perspective suggests that researchers must acknowledge the coproduction of interview data, and that they ought to engage with others in cooperative projects that focus on dialog, collaboration, and mutual self-disclosure. The content of your questions, therefore, may reveal more about you as the interviewer than is obvious at first glance.

Shaping Interview Questions

Interviewing parents about their perceptions of portfolio use as a means of assessing children's performance in school, Todd stated, "I found I spent 45 seconds explaining each question, so I had to work to simplify them." Researchers often begin with questions that make perfect sense to them but are less clear to research participants. Michael Patton's chapter on interviewing in *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (2002) has some of the best advice around on developing good interview questions. You might read also *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (2005) by Rubin and Rubin to supplement the suggestions given here.

TYPES OF QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER (IN PRESENT, PAST, AND FUTURE)	TYPES OF QUESTIONS TO RECONSIDER AND REVISE
Grand Tour Questions	Yes/No Questions
Experience/Behavior Questions	Leading Question
Opinion/Value Questions	Multiple Questions (phrased as one)
Feelings Questions	Factual Questions (get your facts elsewhere)
Sensory Questions	Uncomfortable Questions (at least during first interview)
Knowledge Questions (but not shaped as a test question)	Why Questions

FIGURE 4.1 Types of Interview Questions to Consider and to Reconsider

Patton (2002) describes categories to consider when developing interview questions, including experience/behavior questions, opinion/values questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, sensory questions, and background/demographics questions (summarized in Figure 4.1). Experience/behavior questions are generally the easiest for respondents to answer and are good questions with which to begin an interview. Knowledge questions, in contrast, can give interviewees the impression of being tested. Respondents can readily feel embarrassed or at least uneasy when they have to say “I don’t know” to a question that you assumed they would be able to answer. If a knowledge question is factual information that can be obtained from documents or from one person in the know, such as the department chair, get the information there and drop the question from your interview list for other respondents.

Patton (2002) also suggests considering the aspect of time. That is, you can ask questions about the present, past, and future. Questions that ask for hypothetical musings about the future, however, tend to provide data that are neither thick in description, nor very useful during data analysis. The question “How would you like the sports medicine clinic to be in ten years’ time?” generates little other than a wish list. Exceptions exist, of course, but the past and present tend to be richer ground for stories, descriptions, and interviewer probes.

Developing different categories of questions (experience, feeling, background, etc.) is the first step. Then work carefully on shaping each question, as Todd discovered in his portfolio interviews with parents. Look through your questions and reword any that are dichotomous yes/no questions (“Do you participate in volunteer activities?”) because such questions guide respondents to give short answers. Rethink multiple questions (“Tell me about the last time you volunteered, how long you worked at the activity, and how you felt about doing so”) because the respondent will most likely talk more

fully about one of your several questions and forget the others. “Why” questions (“Why do you do volunteer work?”) can also be problematic because respondents might answer from different perspectives, even though they could speak to several. For example, one interviewee might answer with a discussion of childhood experiences. Another might talk about his need to give something back to the community. Yet another might report how volunteer work puts her in contact with people she would not be with otherwise. As a result of your “why” question, you will generate a list of reasons for participation in volunteer activities, but your understanding of volunteer work would grow even deeper if you asked each respondent in separate questions about the role of family socialization, moral beliefs, and perceived rewards in the participation in volunteer work.

Presupposition questions can be useful also as a shaping guide. In a presupposition question, the interviewer presupposes “that the respondent has something to say” (Patton, 2002, p. 369). Novice interviewers often perceive the need to begin with a short-answer question such as “Are you satisfied with your volunteer work?” followed by the more open-ended questions: “In what ways are you satisfied?” and “In what ways are you not satisfied?” You can often presuppose that satisfaction (or some other attribute) is a part of the work and begin with a statement such as “I’m going to ask you now about your satisfaction and dissatisfaction with your volunteer work. Let’s begin with the ways in which it is satisfying for you.”

Presupposition questions are useful. *Leading questions* are not. It is easy to confuse the two. In leading questions, the interviewer makes obvious the direction in which he or she would like the answer to go. Imagine if you began a question with the following, “It seems that many people are focused on themselves, never thinking about environmental problems, homelessness, or poverty except as they, individually or possibly as a family, are affected. What led you to get involved in volunteer work?” If the question were asked in this way, could a respondent easily tell you that he spent spring break with Habitat for Humanity because his girlfriend had signed up to go? A presupposition question might, in contrast, presuppose that there are ways in which volunteer work is and is not meaningful (satisfactory, useful, etc.) to the respondent, but it does not lead the interviewee to answer in any specific way.

The following discussion is drawn from a study that Kelly Clark (1999) conducted with female academics who were among the first generation in their working-class families to attend college. Her process is an example of shaping questions for qualitative inquiry. It also demonstrates the importance of planning a series of interviews with the same person over time—if the research focus is on life experiences—so that rapport can be established and the time can be sufficient for delving into the deeper layers of a life.

Clark began by asking each woman what she did for work and to describe a typical day. Spradley (1979) refers to this type of question as a **grand tour question**, a request to verbally take the interviewer through a place, a time period, a sequence of events or activities, or some group of people or objects. Grand tour

questions are good starting points because they ask for experiential detail that a respondent can easily, comfortably, and readily answer.

A common mistake in interviewing is to ask questions about a topic before promoting a level of trust that allows respondents to be open and expansive. Therefore, Clark followed up her first question with another easy-to-answer question about the women's work: "How is it that you became involved in the work that you do?" The answers to this question allowed her to gently transition into the area she was particularly interested in learning about during the first interview session: the language used and feelings expressed regarding what it had meant and continued to mean to be a first-generation female academic. Clark planned to hold a minimum of three interviewing sessions with each woman. For the first session, she created questions that would reveal what the process of going to college had been like for each woman as well as reflective self-perceptions of why each had pursued the path she had. Questions for the second session were built on these interviews and probed into areas painful for some: the opportunities, choices, and systems of support that influenced each participant's individual and educational development. The final session was deeply reflective, with questions designed to generate a detailed story of how each participant had gone about aligning a sense of self with higher education. By the second and third sessions, Clark could ask questions that would have been more difficult to ask in the first session because both rapport and the foundation for asking more complex, reflective questions had been developed.

First-draft questions are often too vague to elicit comprehensive responses. Asking "What was attending college like for you?" is so broad that a respondent might be tempted to either give a short-answer "okay" or launch into experiential stories that don't necessarily pertain to your research interests. You can make such questions less vague by asking the respondent to recapture something by imagining it. Clark posed the following, "I'd like to have you go back to a time in your personal life that you've probably not thought about for a while. Remember when you were first introduced to the idea of going to college? There were likely many things you had to consider as the time drew nearer for you to spend your first day on campus. What did you imagine college to be like?" The idea is to provide mood and props for interviewees to recall something likely to be long unthought-about. You want to ask questions that will cause them to recapture the time, place, feeling, and meaning of a past event. Clark's next question was a sensory one that continued to prompt for reflection upon events in the past as she asked, "Suppose I were present with you during one of your visits home. What would I see happening? What would be going on? Describe to me what one of those visits would be like."

Interviewees readily participated in answering Clark's questions because doing so caused them to reflect upon their actions and perhaps to put pieces of their lives together in ways that they had not before. Because Clark had been a

first-generation college student herself, by the third session the interview became more conversational in tone with back-and-forth sharing. By the third session, she could also ask directly about each respondent's *life epiphanies*, occurrences or realizations that "cut to the inner core of the person's life and leave indelible marks on them" (Denzin, 2008, p. 120). It is these kinds of personal experience stories that are often most meaningful for both interviewer and interviewee.

You don't want to make respondents feel uncomfortable by asking questions on topics that are too personal or sensitive before they are ready to talk about such things. Similarly to Clark's interviewing process, Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997b) began her portraiture work by "encouraging the actors in the expression of their strengths, competencies, and insights" (p. 141). Through starting interviews with a focus on what was working and why, both interviewer and interviewee could then move on to exploring "the dark shadows of compromise, inhibition, and imperfection that distort the success and weaken the achievements" (p. 142). Problems and insecurities are not ignored, but they are put in context and work best if they are not the initial thrust of interview questions.

With some topics (e.g., controversial or very sensitive issues), however, it may not be easy to get a respondent's personal opinion. In asking questions, you have a choice of voices, and thus of degrees of directness and generality. You can ask, "Do you," "Do nurses like you," "Do nurses at your hospital," or "Do nurses in general." The scope of the voice increases with each example as, accordingly, the degree of personal disclosure decreases. Whenever you sense that your questions are too personal to be asked directly, you can expand the generality and assume that the longer respondent talk, the more likely they are to speak in a personal voice.

That some questions are designated as warm-up questions suggests that others are best asked at the end. Stuhlmiller (2001), for example, conducted experience-based interviews with rescuers in the 1989 earthquake in San Francisco, California, an emotional topic. Toward the end of each interview, she asked questions such as "What did you learn about yourself from your encounter?" or "What advice would you have for others?" (pp. 75–76). These kinds of questions "directed narrators to consider the positive or growth-promoting aspects of the experience and enabled such thoughts to linger after the interview" (p. 76).

When you are reasonably comfortable with the form and substance of your questions, give attention to their order. Which belong at the beginning because they are easy to answer and answering them will reassure respondents that your questions are manageable? Which belong at the beginning because they are foundational to what you will ask later, or because they will give you the time needed to promote rapport? Which questions should be asked in special sequence? Which should be kept as far apart as possible because you want to minimize how the answer to one question might affect the answer to another? Which should be asked at the end because they are of a summary, culminating, or reflective nature? Of course, we all know what happens to the best-laid plans of researchers. Your logical order may be sundered by the psychological order that emerges from your respondents' answers.

QUESTION TO ASK OF YOUR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	EXAMPLE	POSSIBLE REVISION
Are you asking yes/no questions?	<i>Do you have the chance to provide input into what happens at the campus art museum?</i>	<i>Can you give me an example of how a faculty member has had input into exhibitions or programs at the campus art museum? (Then probe for how interviewee has been involved.)</i>
Are you asking relatively closed questions disguised as open-ended questions?	<i>What do you see as the most important thing the museum can do to get faculty to make use of its art in classes?</i>	<i>Think back to when you first came to teach here. Tell me how you first became acquainted with the campus art museum? Followed up by: How did you begin to consider ways to make use of the museum in your classes?</i>
Do you work at setting a conversational tone with your questions that, at the same time, prepares the interviewee to give you rich responses?	<i>How has the museum affected your learning outside of classwork?</i>	<i>Learning often happens outside of class. You might see something somewhere, for example, and then seek out more information on your own. What kinds of things have you learned through your involvement in the campus art museum?</i>
Are you working to set up a conversational tone but end up with a leading question?	<i>Curators at campus museums often are expected to teach and yet are not given the same status as faculty in other departments. How does it work here?</i>	<i>In some campus art museums, curators hold administrative positions and in others they are also classified as faculty. Tell me about your position. (If faculty, probe for how classified and any tensions inherent in this dual responsibility position.)</i>
Are your questions so broad that the respondent may feel overwhelmed instead of interested in answering?	<i>Please tell me about your experiences as a director of an art museum.</i>	<i>Describe for me the various hats you wear as director of the museum.</i>
Are your questions asked on such a general level that respondents immediately have to qualify their answers in some way?	<i>How do you think institutional administrators view the campus art museum?</i>	<i>Politics at universities and colleges is a constant and constantly changing. Tell me about the museum's relationship historically with university presidents, provosts, and boards of trustees. Followed by: How would you describe the museum's relationship with the current administration?</i>

FIGURE 4.2 Questions to Ask of Your Interview Questions

QUESTION TO ASK OF YOUR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	EXAMPLE	POSSIBLE REVISION
Are you asking for a list , when you'd really like descriptive experiences?	<i>What jobs, assistantships, or internships are available for students at the museum?</i>	<i>Describe for me your job [assistantship, fellowship] with the campus art museum. How did you get it? Followed by, What do you like about it, find frustrating, etc?</i>
Are your questions fair ? That is, do you ask about more than one side of an issue?	<i>What kinds of things frustrate you about your job as a museum curator?</i>	<i>Tell me what your job consists of on a typical day at the museum? What aspects do you enjoy most about your job? What kinds of things frustrate or challenge you?</i>
Are your questions more like probes than well-developed questions?	Meaning of museum—academic and extracurricular?	<i>Not all colleges or universities have campus art museums. I'm curious to learn from your perspective what going to a school with an art museum has meant to you? (Probe: How has it affected you academically? Beyond the classroom?)</i>
Finally, look at each question and ask of it, "What will answers to this question contribute to my research questions?"		

FIGURE 4.2 (continued)

Not needing to keep things straight, as you see it, they may talk in streams of language that connect to various parts of your questions, but that in no way resemble your planned order. You then learn new ways that your questions connect. As a final check, see Figure 4.2 for some questions to ask of your interview questions.

Revising and Piloting Interview Questions

View the process of interview question construction as a continuing interaction among your topic, your questions, a few collaborators, and your reflective thoughts. First, think of it as a three-way interaction among the researcher, the tentatively formed topic, and interview questions—tentative because in so thinking you are optimally open to what is known to be most realistic: that interview questions will change. Write questions, check them against your topic, possibly revise your research statement, and reconsider the questions.

Think of question development as a four-way interaction when collaborators enter the picture. These collaborators or facilitators are agreeable peers, who will read drafts of your questions in light of what you communicate as the point of the study. They bring their logic, uninvested in your study, to the assessment of your questions, and they give you the basis for returning to your computer to create another draft. These facilitators tell you about grammar, clarity, and question–topic fit.

Some facilitators may be informed by experience with the people and phenomena of your research topic and thus can ascertain if your questions are anchored in respondents' cultural reality. No doubt, the most effective collaborators are **local facilitators**, persons local to the research site who will work closely with you. Your greatest challenge is to create questions that respondents find valuable to consider, as well as questions whose answers provide you with pictures of the unseen, expand your understanding, offer insight, and upset any well-entrenched ignorance.

Finally, pilot your questions. Ideally, pilot respondents are drawn from the actual inquiry group. Urge pilot respondents to be in a critical frame of mind so that they do not just answer your questions but, more important, they reflect critically on the usability of your questions. Since formal pilot studies are not always feasible, you might design a period of piloting that encompasses the early days of interviews with your actual respondents, rather than a set-aside period with specially designated pilot respondents. Such a period, if conducted in the right frame of mind—the deep commitment to revise—should suffice for pilot purposes.

In reflecting on developing interview questions about the experiences of first-generation college students, Sean observed:

It was the pilot interview phase that most clearly informed my interview questions. Which questions resonated with my interviewee, and which ones fell to the ground (figuratively during the interview and literally during coding of the interview)? It is also the point at which the experience of the first-generation student leaves the crisp pages of research documents and becomes a responsive, interactive experience—one that says, "Huh?" at the end of a poorly worded question or continues at length in response to a good one.

Be prepared to let some questions fall to the ground.

The example shown in Figure 4.3 is taken from the work Kristina and her facilitators did on her questions for interviews with African women about their perceptions of their legal rights as women. Presented here are only a few of her questions from each of her subsequent drafts, so you can get an idea of how her questions evolved through her dedication to making them good questions and through feedback from classmates, pilot interviewees, and me.

How a question is worded matters. Gubrium and Holstein (2009, p. 46) give examples of ways in which similar but differently worded questions prompted different kinds of stories. "As you look back over your life, what are some of the milestones that stand out?" led interviewees to focus on various professional milestones. The question "If you were writing a story of your life, what chapters would you have in your book," however, generated narratives drawn from the interviewees' overall life stories. The process of drafting and redrafting interview questions requires time, thought, and effort. Your research will benefit, however, with finely honed questions that elicit interesting and engaging information. The data you get are only as good as the questions you ask.

DRAFTS OF KRISTINA'S QUESTIONS	BRIEF COMMENTS ON EACH DRAFT
<i>Draft 1, October 2</i> 1. How would you describe the position of women in your country, both economically and socially? 2. I want to talk to you about any experiences you or your mother and other women that you know have had about owning property. How did you or the women you know gain property? 3. How did you come to understand what rights a married woman has compared to her husband? <i>Draft 2, October 9</i> In many countries around the world, women have inferior social and economic positions compared to men. This inferior position sometimes makes it difficult for women to exercise their rights in issues of marriage and property. I want you to describe first the rights women in your country face when it comes to marriage issues, and then we'll come back to the rights of women relating to property. 1. What kinds of rights do women have in your country around the issue of marriage? Now I want to talk to you about issues relating to marriage. I'm going to divide this issue into two topics. First I want to talk about what rights a woman has when she is married, the kinds of things she can and cannot do, and rules or laws that may apply to a married woman. Then I want to talk about the same issues, only concerning divorce. 2. What kinds of rules or laws apply to married women? 3. What experiences have you had that helped you to understand what rules or laws apply to married women?	<i>Draft 1</i> Notice how broad and general the first question is. Because it is such a large question, it would be difficult to know where to start in answering it. Again, where does one start and with whom—you, your mother, or other women? And what is meant by "gain"? What is meant by "property"? Question 3 is less broad than the others, but it still feels vague. How would you answer it? <i>Draft 2</i> These preliminary words, an attempt to be more conversational in her approach, clearly state Kristina's position and could silence or lead women to answer in certain ways. Question 1 remains quite broad and vague and asked at a general level rather than engaging the women in discussing their own experiences. Kristina's preliminary to the next questions is a worthwhile attempt to be more conversational and to alert the women to what kinds of questions are to come, but the words "I want to talk to you about . . ." or "I want to talk about . . ." do not work to bring the interviewee into the interview. It is also difficult to follow all the information presented. Question 2, like 1, is too broad, vague, and general. Question 3 finally gets at the woman's experience. Look at how this question seems more engaging than Question 3 of Draft 1.

FIGURE 4.3 Example of Developing Interview Questions

DRAFTS OF KRISTINA'S QUESTIONS	BRIEF COMMENTS ON EACH DRAFT
Draft 3, November 11 1. If you had to generalize and describe how women in your country live, what would you say? Now I want to talk to you about issues relating to marriage. I'm interested in the sorts of rights a married woman has, the kinds of things she can and cannot do, what kinds of rules or laws apply to married women. These rights don't necessarily have to be actual laws but can be what is expected of a married woman. 2. What kinds of laws or rules apply to a married woman? 3. What do you think about these kinds of rules or rights? Draft 4, November 18 I want to talk to you about your understanding of how women perceive marriage, divorce, and property rights in your country. I'm mostly interested in your perceptions of these issues, regardless of your knowledge about specific laws that apply to women. I'm going to break this interview into three sections, beginning with marriage, then we'll talk about divorce, and finally we'll talk about women's property and inheritance rights. 1. I'd like you to tell me about the laws or customs concerning women and marriage in your country. How would you describe them? (probe for role of women, role of men, how roles have changed) 2. How were you raised to think about marriage? (probe for role of mother, father, friends, school, government programs) 3. What would you teach your children about women and marriage? (probe for differences between teaching sons and daughters)	Draft 3 Nice beginning, but again very broad and difficult to answer. Kristina might say "Now I would like to hear about . . ." which situates her as the learner in the interview process. What she goes on to say is useful and clarifying information for the interviewee. Question 2 continues to be asked at a general level, but the introduction makes it easier to think about an answer. Being a "knowledge" question, it could be regarded as an uncomfortable kind of test question by interviewees. Question 3 is a nice follow-up, and, I suspect, where the interviewee information will become more interesting. Draft 4 Nice, clear introduction that sets out the scope of the interview and specifies that Kristina wants to understand the women's perceptions, not their knowledge of their country's laws. Question 1 is at a general level, but clear and direct with good prompts for areas in which to probe. Question 2 gets at the interviewee's socialization. It would prompt reflective and, most likely, engaging answers. Question 3 is an excellent question to get at the interviewee's values and opinions.

FIGURE 4.3 (continued)

CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEW



Interviews do not have to take place in sterile, formal settings. Make use of opportunities that allow you to learn from and with others in multiple places.

Where? When? How Long? How Often?

Where will you conduct your interviews? You need to find convenient, available, appropriate locations. Select quiet, physically comfortable, and private locations when you can. Defer to interviewees' needs, however, because their willingness is primary, limited only by your capacity to conduct an interview in the place they suggest. If, for example, a location's lack of privacy dampens, if not defeats, open discussion, or if its noise level precludes hearing, then the available site is not workable. If meeting where radios or televisions blare, a gentle request will generally suffice to get sets turned off or at least down. A room set aside for the researcher on a regular basis is ideal for interviews with students conducted at school. Otherwise, you may have to use your creativity and move around, depending on the time of day; the lunchroom, auditorium, backstage, campus picnic table, and gymnasium are possible places. Teachers, counselors, and administrators are easier to meet because they have classrooms and offices.

When will you meet? "Convenient, available, and appropriate" apply also to the time of the interview. *Appropriate* means when both you and the respondent feel like talking. Again, however, you take what you can get and defer to the preferences of interviewees. School-based interviews often occur during a teacher's free period and a student's study hall. Barring these opportunities, before and after school and lunchtimes are other possibilities. Meeting counselors and administrators requires fitting into their schedules when free of appointments.

What should you do to prepare for interviews other than be familiar with your questions and have your recorder ready? Learn as much as you can about interviewees and their lives, work, and relationship to the topic before actually meeting with them. You do this to understand the terminology that might be used, to know the kinds of questions that might serve as good follow-ups, and to better enjoy the process. Ives (1995) provides a good example: "I remember one young girl, interviewing an old woodsman, who asked what they cut down the trees with. 'Well, girlie,' he said with a kind of amused contempt, 'we used an ax, that's what we used!' Girlie looked him right in the eye: 'Poll or double-bit?' she said." (p. 36)

How long will your interview last? An hour of steady talk is generally a suitable length before diminishing returns set in for both parties. There are exceptions, for example, when less time is available to the respondent. Take what you can get, while trying to promote regularity—of location, time, and length of interview—so that you can say to your respondent at the interview's end, "Same time and place next week?"

How often will you meet? This is a variable, depending upon the purpose of the research. A life history interview could not be completed in an hour. Some have taken dozens of hours (Atkinson, 2002). Even most topical interviews require multi-session interviews to yield trustworthy results. Just how many sessions will depend on the length of the interview schedule and interview sessions, the interest and verbal fluency of the respondent, and the probing skills of the researcher. You might say to respondents, "I would like to meet with you at least two times, maybe more, but no more than is comfortable for you. And you may—without any explanation—stop any particular session or all further sessions." Then, it is your challenge to make the interview experience so rewarding that having multiple sessions is unproblematic.

How many different interviews should you schedule for any one day? Stan was interested in how students and teachers perceived the effects of an innovative bilingual program. He negotiated release time from his work for one day a week for two months. During that time, he planned to conduct his interviews. He scheduled back-to-back interviews with five or more people on each research day. Stan soon became frustrated with delays and last-minute changes and yet was determined to complete twenty interviews during the first month. Despite personal time constraints, Stan needed to extend the time period allotted for interviews. The limited time, no matter how hard Stan worked, would not do justice to his inquiry. By scheduling interviews back to back, he did not have time to reflect upon and journal about each interview after its occurrence and thereby learn from it before the next interview. With such a tight schedule, he was likely to be more focused on getting through his questions than on listening, probing, and learning new questions that he should be asking. In addition, his anxiety over time was likely to be noted by his participants, and they might give him shorter answers to speed up the process. Although not always following this advice, I tend to agree with O'Reilly (2005, p. 143) who advocates no more than two in-depth interviews a day.

In the above example, Stan could consider the phone or email as a way to follow up on some of his first interviews. He possibly could hold some interviews online through programs such as iChat or Skype. Internet-based interviews, although generally not as ideal as face-to-face interviews, have advantages for

some research projects (Meho, 2006). They can save time and expense for transportation. They allow the researcher to access people from many different geographic areas and in politically sensitive or dangerous locations. Email interviewing has the additional benefit of decreasing the cost or time involved in transcription. It can also enable conversations with some groups that might not be as willing or able to participate in face-to-face interviews, such as people with special characteristics (stroke survivors or those with speech impediments), the difficult to reach (executives), second-language speakers, or those who are particularly shy. If interviewing through email, however, you and your respondents need to agree to multiple exchanges over an extended period of time so that you can probe into responses, ask for clarifications, and follow new lines of thought.

The Interactive Nature of Interviewing

Interviewing is not quite the same process for all its practitioners, any more than teaching, nursing, or counseling is. Its variability derives from who is conducting the interview with whom, on what topic, and at what time and place. Interviewing, in short, brings together different persons and personalities. Gender, race, nationality, sexual orientation, and age, and all their possible combinations, can make for very different interview exchanges. Depending on the topic, the location of the interview, and the temper of the times, the nature of the interaction will change as well. If you are a European American researcher interviewing a Mexican American official of the Mexican American Political League on the subject of farm workers, in the league's business office, during the heated times of a strike, you will conduct an interview that is imaginably different from one you would conduct if you are a Mexican American researcher, interviewing the same officer, on the same subject, in your office, at a time when labor peace prevails.

To help you think through the possible interviewing effects of gender, race, sexual orientation, class, and other social locations, look at *Inside Interviewing*, an edited book by Holstein and Gubrium (2003). For examples, Reinharz and Chase (2003) describe how the gender of the interviewer can affect whether or not female interviewees reveal some information and where they feel comfortable being interviewed. Dunbar, Rodriguez, and Parker (2003) discuss ways in which factors associated with race interact with both the asking and the answering of interview questions. Kong, Mahoney, and Plummer (2003) draw attention to how "postcolonial gay identities are not merely the additive experiences of race, gender, class, and sexuality . . . ; rather, they are the result of multifarious and contradictory sets of oppression within specific institutional arenas" (p. 99). The major point is that the interview is an interaction that will vary depending upon the makeup of participants. You have no control over some aspects, but you can work to make the interaction comfortable and conducive to an exchange. You can be fully present to the other person and open to learning new ways of looking at and being in the world.

You also need to be willing to learn how to interact appropriately by the cultural standards of the people you are interviewing. This may mean socializing before the interview and sharing a meal. It may mean that responses are not given in a straight, forward way. They may be answered in a circular fashion or involve storytelling with

implied answers. Cultural differences occur between and within countries. Ives (1995) writes of doing research in Maine, where he learned that his role as interviewer entailed being able to be “silent, reserved, maybe looking at the floor, maybe not” (p. 45).

No matter what identity categories describe researcher and interviewee, no one person is exactly the right interviewer, any more than there is a right practitioner in the case of teachers, nurses, or social workers. All researchers have personal strengths and weaknesses that form the basis of their interview styles. Just as in nonresearch life, some persons engender nearly instant trust; they can safely ask direct, probing questions on hot topics early in an interview relationship. Some can make blunders and get excused over and over because they are eminently forgivable. Some create such an atmosphere of reflection and nurturance that respondents line up to be interviewed. Learn who you are, how you operate, and make the best of it. Do not expect the same reception from all respondents. They will take to you as variably as people do in general. This means that you will conduct some exhilarating interviews, and others may not be helpful at all. Of course, your unsuccessful interview encounters should not always occur with the same type of person.

A number of things occur simultaneously in interviewing. First and foremost is your listening. Interviewers are listeners incarnate; machines can record, but only you can listen. At no time do you stop listening, because without the data your listening furnishes, you cannot make any of the decisions inherent in interviewing: Are you listening with your research purposes and eventual write-up fully in mind, so that you are attuned to whether your questions are delivering on your intentions for them? If they are not, is the problem in the question, in the respondent, or in the way you are listening? Has your question been answered, and is it time to move on? If so, move on to what question? Should you probe now or later? What form should your probe take? Do you need to probe further the results produced by your probe? The spontaneity and unpredictability of the interview exchange precludes planning most probes ahead of time; you must, accordingly, think and talk on your feet, one of those many interview-related skills that improves with practice.

You listen and you look, aware that feedback can be both nonverbal and verbal. You observe the respondent’s body language to determine what effects your questions, probes, and comments are having. Do you see indicators of discomfort, and is the source of that discomfort in the physical conditions of your interview site or in the topic to which you are stimulating a response? Do you see signs of boredom, annoyance, bewilderment? What might be their source and their remedy, and is it within your means to provide a remedy?

Although listening and looking are critical, you forgo their gains unless you remember. You want to remember your questions so you won’t constantly look down at your list, and so you won’t be taken off guard when your questions are being taken out of order. You want to remember what has been said—by you and by the respondent—in this session and in previous ones. You want to recall what you have heard, so that you can pick up on past points in order to make connections, see gaps and inconsistencies, avoid asking some questions, or rephrase other questions when your first attempt at questioning fell

short of your expectations and needs. You must, of course, remember to bear in mind your research questions so that what you are listening to is being assessed in respect to your research needs.

You must also remember your responsibility for the quality of the respondent's experience. Are you attending to aspects of the interview that make it comfortable and interesting for the respondent, even if the topic stirs difficult memories? How satisfied respondents are can affect their willingness to continue to talk to you, the effort they put into their talk, and what they may tell other interview candidates about being your interviewee. Narrative researchers Gubrium and Holstein (2009) note how the interview is a collaborative enterprise:

No matter how minimal, collaboration should not be discounted. Indeed, sometimes declining to participate in conversational give-and-take can put an end to a storyline; an apparent lack of attention or interest can put a damper on any story. Conversely, measured participation may also facilitate storytelling, essentially allowing the narrator to command the floor in order to produce the extended turn at talk needed to formulate a story. (p. 97)

Try thinking of your role as that of a collaborator whose conversational actions facilitate others in the telling of their stories.

Related to the quality of the respondent's experience is remembering to monitor negative reactions. Unless involved in projects that focus on learning through dialog, you may need to keep in check your disagreement with "disagreeable" views you hear. When Bonnie learned that a nurse she was interviewing was seriously uninformed about the care and treatment of confused older patients, she could not vent her irritation to the nurse and still maintain access. The venting may be acceptable and consistent with Bonnie's role as a nurse, but not with her role as a researcher. Keeping roles separate is hard but sometimes essential if you mean to collect data from people whose experiences and perspectives differ from yours.

Finally, remember to keep track of time when interviewing in time-conscious cultures. Then, time remains for you to make some usefully culminating statements, such as, "Here's the ground we covered today. I was pleased to learn about such and such. Would it be okay for next time if we went back to this point and that point before we turn to the next subject?" In this way, you review and pave the way for your next interview session. You keep track of time so you can keep your promise to use only an hour and avoid overstaying your welcome or causing interviewees to be late for their next commitment. Take the time to negotiate and verify details of your next meeting, and be punctual for each appointment.

Listening, looking, and remembering in the comprehensive terms suggested here require developing your concentration. This means shutting off the myriad other aspects of your life so that you can fully attend to the needs of your interview. Achieving the appropriate level of concentration can be physically and emotionally draining, particularly in your early days as an interviewer. It is not excessively far-fetched to say that if you are not tired at the end of an interview session, then you might wonder about the quality of the session. Interviewing is a complex process. Because there are so many acts to orchestrate,

effective interviewing should be viewed the way good teaching is: You should look for improvement over time—for continuing growth—rather than for mastery or perfection.

Probing

In-depth interviewing is conceived of as an occasion for patiently probing—for getting to the bottom of things in order to do justice to the complexity of the topic. Researchers operate from the assumption that they cannot exhaust what there is to know about a subject. They may stop investigating because they have run out of time or have satisfied their particular research conceptualization, but while the research remains in process, interviewing is a “what-else” and “tell-me-more” endeavor. The next question on your interview schedule should get its turn only when you have stopped learning from the previous one and its spinoffs. Don’t view your list of questions as simply “something to be ‘gotten through’” (Ives, 1995, p. 51). Follow up on what respondents say with probes, remaining open to learning what you should have asked but didn’t know enough to consider. This is where patience comes in.

You need to concentrate on being patient in order to give due, unrushed attention and deliberation to the responses you elicit. Rush and the world rushes with you: If you communicate your satisfaction with short-shrift replies, then you teach respondents how minimal your expectations are. Say, “Tell me more,” and your interviewees will learn how to respond accordingly. You will find that the better you probe, the longer your interview time becomes. Short interview sessions are generally the mark of inexperienced or poor interviewers. With experience, the length and, often, the number of sessions increases.

Your probes are requests for more: more explanation, clarification, description, and evaluation, depending on your assessment of what best follows an interviewee’s words. Probes take numerous forms; they range from silence, to sounds, to a single word, to complete sentences. Learn which forms work best for you. Silence is easy to use, if you can tolerate it. Too little silence, and you fail to have made clear that you were inviting more talk; too much silence, and you may make the interviewee squirm. The magical right amount of silence indicates “Go on. Take your time. I’m not in a hurry.” Silence leaves time for thought. It is better than a menu of choices, as is rephrasing the question if it elicits no answer, or saying, “We can come back to that later if nothing comes to mind.” Used judiciously, silence is a useful and easy probe—as is the bunched utterance of “uh huh, uh huh,” sometimes combined with a nodding head.

Longer, more directive probes take various forms. You might say, “I’m not sure I got that straight. Would you please run that by me again?” Or you could summarize what you thought you heard and then ask, “Did I understand you correctly?” Both types invite a rethinking by the respondent, and with rethinking may come elaboration. The summary alternative can also be used to preface, “Is there anything more you’d like to add to this?” Probes also can be simple questions: “How did that happen?” “What made you feel that way?” And more complex conditional questions: “If you had returned to graduate school fifteen years ago,

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT	COMMENTS
T: I'd like you to go back to when you were in kindergarten, a time you probably haven't thought about too much.	Good preliminary introduction to a question that eases the interviewee back to a past time.
D: Oh yeah, I can sort of remember some parts of it.	
T: Can you remember something that you learned back then?	Yes/No question, "Tell me about..." might have worked better.
D: Here's something that I can remember. I learned that when you are studying castles—I learned that they have arrow holes in the walls.	D gives a short answer about one item.
T: How did you learn that?	T opens up the interview with this probe.
D: The teacher said it. We were having a rug discussion, I think. The teacher was telling us some facts about castles. And I also remember how to divide stuff up equally. That's why I'm okay at dividing.... And I learned a trick in spelling "said." The teacher said, "it's sa-id instead of sed." I remember every single morning or almost every single morning we would play bingo on the rug until we could memorize our letters. I remember the first day I ever read a book. It's <i>Alligator in the Elevator</i>. It was my first book. I remember that after that I read all the books they had in the kindergarten. And then just kept on reading higher and higher levels. And by first grade I was reading adult books. I read the first book in the Tarzan series.	D can suddenly remember lots of things. He is not, however, really answering the "how" question except for learning specific things from his teacher.
T: Do you remember when you first learned to read?	Although a yes/no question, T is picking up on reading as an area to probe for the "how."
D: This is what I always do. I can remember I did this when I learned to walk. I don't really do it, I just kind of stand back and practice ways of doing it for a while. I'm usually late at doing things. For instance, I was never really a toddler. . . . The first day I took a step, I just walked around. I never fell either, unless I tripped or slipped. In reading, I kind of looked at signs and I read little things at first and then I just tried reading a book after a while and I could read it.	And D addresses the "how."

FIGURE 4.4 Example of Using Probes in an Interview

how might your life look different now?” Pelto (2013, p. 166) identifies the request, “Can you give me an example of that?” as one of the most useful probes. As he observes, when first asked a question, respondents often reply with abstractions or generalizations. Asking for an example gets at the experiences and details, the descriptive level, that you want in your interviews. Your field notebook can come in handy for some kinds of probes. If interviewees describe how something was set up, you might ask them to draw it for you in your notebook or you might sketch your perception of what the person is saying and then ask if you got it right.

Figure 4.4 is a portion of Terry’s interview transcript with David, a child in her elementary classroom. Terry was interested in learning styles and in how children described their own learning processes. She talked to her class about theories of learning before conducting interviews. In this example, Terry used probes to expand and more fully understand David’s perspective on his learning. The left column presents a portion of the interview while the right column contains comments on the probes.

As this example demonstrates, it is clearly not the form of your probe that is most critical. It is your intent to probe, supported by your patience to linger and inquire rather than get on with completing the interview. The more nervous you are, the less patient you will be to probe, and the less you will find occasion to do so. Missed opportunities for probing, however, plague us all. You will read your interview transcripts and find many occasions to groan over opportunities forgone. You were too tired, too satiated with ideas, or just didn’t grasp what was being said. Given the intent to probe, the requisite habit and skill will develop—although you will always probe less than you could (as you learn when replaying the recording or reading the transcript).

RECORDING, TRANSCRIBING, AND TRACKING

Recording

How will you note your face-to-face interviews? Whether by hand, audio, or video recording is a matter of your needs and the respondents’ consent. It is not quite a toss-up as to whether you note by hand or recorder. With handwritten notes (or notes typed into your laptop computer or tablet with a keyboard), you are closer to being done writing when your interview is over; this is their distinct advantage. Also, noting by hand is less obtrusive and less intimidating to some persons. But be aware of the message your respondent may deduce whenever you stop taking notes: the risky “I no longer am noteworthy.” You will also feel less in control of the interview when, as you handwrite or type notes, your attention is focused on the struggle to keep up with the respondent’s talk (even knowing that this generally cannot be done), and you can only intermittently maintain eye contact and attend to all of the verbal and nonverbal cues that have bearing on the procedure. Interviewees may generally be patient and slow down, even waiting for you to catch up if you explain your desire to note their words as fully as possible. Recording devices, however, provide a nearly complete documentation of what has been said and permit easier attention to the course of the interview.

If taking notes by hand, you will want to work at getting down verbatim as much as possible, and then to allow time immediately after the interview to fill in as many of the missing pieces as you can remember. Use a different color pen (or font if typing into your computer) to indicate that notes are from your memory and not taken during the interview. Some novice interviewers, when noting by hand, feel compelled to switch into third person and to create a summary of the conversation. Consider the difference between the following two notations:

- I . . . I wasn't sure what I wanted to do. I was a senior and just wasn't thinking about it. But my mom kept leaving out brochures about the [college] nearby. One weekend, she said, "Hey, let's go over to [college]. I want to see what it's like." So, we went over there, got to join in a tour being led by some college kids, and. . . .
- She said that her mom was a big influence in her attending college.

Summarized notes defeat the purpose of in-depth interviews. You want to write what interviewees say in the manner in which they say it. A surer way to do this is by recording.

Many respondents will agree to the use of a recorder. Depending on the sensitivity of the topic, you may decide to wait until after the end of the first session to ask permission to record, when the respondent should feel more comfortable with you, the topic, and the process. Give due attention to the quality of your equipment. You do not need the frustration of trying to decipher words on the recording after the interview. Digital recorders have advantages over analog recorders; they store data in a format that can be downloaded as a sound file directly onto your computer, making it easier to manage, store, and transcribe interviews than dealing with boxes of cassettes. The sound quality is generally better as well on digital recorders. Most recorders have built-in microphones, but these are less effective than an external microphone; best of all are lapel microphones that can be attached to both researcher and respondent, particularly if in a somewhat noisy interview site or if you are interviewing persons who are soft-voiced.

Even when using a recorder, get in the habit of taking notes while you interview. Get used to writing while the other person is talking. Get comfortable with not always looking the speaker in the eye. Keep the pen going, even when looking at the interviewee. Your notes may not be as complete as you might seek to make them if you did not have the recorder, but they will serve as backup if the recorder fails. You will be competent in taking notes—and prepared to do so if someone does not want you to use the recorder. In addition, you will be able to easily jot descriptors, questions, and thoughts that arise during the interview without distracting the respondent because he or she will have become accustomed to your writing.

Remember that a different sort of noting continues after the interview, whether you are recording by hand or machine. As soon after a session as possible, pull out your field journal and write. Write descriptors about where the interview took place. Was anyone else present during the interview? What kind of gestures did the interviewee make? Regarding what to note after interviews,

Ives (1995) suggests, “simply ask yourself if this or that bit of information would help anyone listening to the tape or reading the transcript to make better use of it” (p. 38). In addition to better situating and describing the interview, reflect upon the process. How do you think the interview went? What might you have done differently? How might you want to reshape some of your interview questions, or should you discard some altogether and add new ones?

Transcribing

If you are recording interviews with an analog recorder and plan to transcribe them yourself, borrow or rent a transcription machine with a foot pedal for reversing and advancing the tape, so that your hands are free to type. The machine rewinds the tape a little when you stop it, so you don’t miss the first word or two when you begin the tape again. Doing this by hand is frustrating. Lorna reflected upon her transcription process without a transcribing machine:

The worst problem was in transcribing the interviews verbatim. My initial attempts at home left me somewhat crazed; it took me about one hour to transcribe about ten minutes of conversation. In desperation, I hired someone to do this. However, the expensive transcriptions contained numerous “???” where the words were obscured. . . . I then had to go over the entire tapes to fill in missing parts of the interaction.

If using a digital voice recorder, you will download the sound files to your computer. Free software allows you to play the recordings and to pause as needed while you type the words into a text area. If you plan to transcribe a number of files, purchase a USB foot pedal so you do not have to constantly lift your hands from the keyboard and move your eyes from the monitor to use the mouse to stop, slow down, or rewind your recording. If you have an iPad, you might want to try the program *Audio Note*. It allows you to type notes using a keyboard while recording the interview. The program inserts time codes every time the “return” key is hit, allowing you to match typed notes with the recording and to transcribe exact sections of the interview later on.

Whether recordings are analog or digital, transcription remains onerous, and qualitative researchers await the day when speech recognition software easily accomplishes this task. Although such software is getting better, generally it still needs “training” to recognize the voice of the speaker, making it good for transcribing dictation from one person, but not for transcribing the voices of different interviewees. What some researchers are doing is a kind of simultaneous translation, in which they use earphones to listen to a sentence in a recorded interview, pause the recording, and then speak the same words into their computer equipped with speech recognition software trained to their voice (Gibbs, 2007; Mears, 2009). According to those who use and like this process, repeating aloud each word of the interview evokes thoughts and possible insights that simply typing the words would not. Carolyn Mears (2009) describes herself as a convert, using voice recognition software not only to transcribe, but also to “take notes” on texts she is reading. When she comes upon a paragraph that she

might want to quote, she reads it out loud, and the software types it into her document file.

When transcribing, it can be helpful in the long run to type the first name of interviewees in UPPERCASE, followed by a colon, every time they begin speaking. Not only can you see the name easily this way, but you can also search forward for parts of a specific interview (Gibbs, 2007). If doing sensitive research (use of drugs), then you need to use pseudonyms for participants' names from the start. If your research involves something less sensitive (principals' attitudes toward tenure for teachers), then it might be easier to use the interviewee's real first name until all data are collected. Then, a pseudonym list can be compiled, and you can search forward and replace real names with pseudonyms. Some researchers use initials or even numbers for names of interviewees. I find it difficult to associate initials or a number with a specific interview and to keep them straight when comparing and contrasting during analysis.

Do you have to transcribe everything, particularly if parts of the interview seem off-topic? Hatch (2002) provides this advice, "It's my training that 'everything is data' that leads me to tell students to transcribe everything and save data reduction for later in the research process" (p. 113). Ideally, you transcribe everything, but also, you really might not need the feast descriptions or recipes conveyed in the early part of an interview following a special holiday. Whether or not you transcribe each utterance in the recording varies with research approaches and goals. If focused on cultural patterns and understandings, you can leave out most of the *ums* and somewhat ignore pauses and overlaps in conversations. If doing narrative ethnography or conversational analysis, however, you will want to transcribe in a way that shows pauses, overlaps, silence, and the details of struggling for the right word (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). In narrative ethnography and conversational analysis, you also will want to include your questions and prompts in the transcriptions, whereas doing so is less important in other approaches.

For some, transcribing is agonizing, not only in time demanded—estimate at least four hours to transcribe an hour of recording—but also in toll on the body, compounding the research agenda with visits to physical therapists to deal with repetitive strain injuries. Yet, paying someone to transcribe is expensive, and as Ives (1995) states, "Like it or not, the ideal person to transcribe an interview is you" (p. 75). So get good equipment and seize whatever means can be afforded to minimize the demands of transcribing. Ideally, you find yourself immersed in the interview, provided with the opportunity to listen again to what was said, and to reflect not only on your topic, but also on the interview process itself. "I know of no better way than self-transcription to teach what good interviewing is and is not, what succeeds and what does not," states Ives (1995, pp. 75–76). While transcribing, be sure to keep your research field journal open to jot new questions, connections, and ideas as they appear to you—the bonus rewards of self-transcription. Transcribe as soon after each interview as possible. If you wait until you have completed all of your interviews before transcribing them, you have waited too long to learn what they can teach you.

Tracking

Regardless of the means you select to record your interview, keep an account for every respondent and interview. Include identification data that at a glance give characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, experience, occupation) that have bearing on your respondent selection. These identification data allow you to keep track of whom you have seen, so you can be mindful of whom else to see. Other items you may want to note include questions covered, old questions requiring elaboration, where to begin next time, special circumstances that affected the quality of the interview, and reminders about anything that might prepare you for subsequent interviews. Although you will want to create a tracking sheet that best meets your purposes, see Figure 4.5 for an example.

After you have transcribed several interviews and entered a number of pages of field notes into computer files, a peculiar phenomenon occurs. Paranoia sets in that something will happen to your data. Someone will steal your computer. Your apartment or house will burn down. Or you'll just wake up one morning and it's not there. All have most likely happened. It's best to back up your files on a memory stick or a removable hard drive. You also may want to save your files on the Internet through a program like Dropbox.

INTERVIEWEE	ID	QUESTIONS ASKED	WHERE TO START	FOLLOW-UP PROBES	SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES/ REMINDERS
Donna	Curator Faculty— Art History	1–5, 7	#8 and pick up #6 if time at end	Role of mother in Donna's interest in art	We had 3 interruptions during the interview. Lots of demands on her time. Can we go off-campus next time?
Sam	Music Student Senior	1–8	#9	Sam said he had never been in the campus art museum before a music class assignment. Ask if he has ever been to any art museum before.	Sam said he would show me the artwork in the museum and bring in a CD of the music that he composed to it. Remember to do/ask for this.
Joyce	Museum Director				
Richard	Faculty— Geog.				

FIGURE 4.5 Example of an Interview Tracking Sheet

SOME TYPICAL PROBLEMS IN INTERVIEWING

Fortunately, it is only once that you can do something for the first time (or do we believe that because it is consoling?). Helen somberly reflected about beginning to interview:

Things don't always work the way you plan. It took me a month to get access. Then when I got there I learned the interview guides had not been passed out. I had asked the principal to identify teachers who knew a lot and found he had simply told various people that they would meet with me. About a third of the way through the first interview, I realized that the pause button was still on on my tape recorder.

Making the best of bad times may be all that you can manage as you try to salvage something from an interview, at least chalking it up as an occasion to get to know your respondent.

Remembering to check your recorder comes easier after your initiation. Beyond problems most commonly associated with the novice's early days are others that can occur to anyone at any time. For example, a respondent does not answer the question you ask. What is going on? The reason may simply be that the person has innocently (without a hidden agenda) taken a fancy to discussing something else. If you can listen as gracefully to off-target talk (in your terms) as you do to on-target talk, then the time you lose may be more than offset by the enhanced quality of the respondent's answers. With the serendipity that abounds in qualitative research, the perceived off-target talk may lead into a relevant and related territory of which you were not aware, opening up a new path for understanding. Or it may simply be that your question was not clear or the respondent was too nervous to concentrate. Look for other suitable words in which to recast your question. If restating does not help, go on to other questions rather than risk conveying frustration or making the interviewee feel inadequate.

The reason for not answering a particular question, or for respondents' turning the focus of talk to topics of their own, may be more complex. Jennifer had a respondent who brought the talk around to safety in the nursery school, when Jennifer had the virtues of outdoor play on her mind. In time, Jennifer realized that her respondent gave very little time in her program to outdoor play and was saving herself from embarrassment in an interview that was directed exclusively toward outdoor play. In still more time, Jennifer realized that she needed to preface her interviews with the clearest possible statement that her inquiry on outdoor play was free of advocacy, so that respondents could continue to feel good about themselves—whether they did or did not include outdoor play in their nursery school program.

Such prefacing is critical to effective interviewing because respondents logically conclude that if you ask a lot about something, you must think it is important. This may be true, but it does not necessarily make you an advocate. To the extent that you appear to be an advocate, your respondents may become defensive, or they may tell you what they think you want to hear. Try explaining that you believe both successful and unsuccessful teachers emphasize outdoor play; that you are not making judgments about success; that you want only to understand

the place of outdoor play, or lack of it, in the nursery school curriculum. If it is there, what are the reasons? If it is not, then, again, for what reasons?

When respondents show a pattern of turning away from your questions, they may be saying obliquely what they won't say directly: "I don't want to continue this interview." Other forms of resistance to being interviewed are missed appointments and short replies. The resistance may be apparent or real. Apparent resistance may result from respondents' being preoccupied with personal matters that preclude concentrating on the interview. If they want to talk about their personal problems, your listening may clear the deck for them to return to the questions. Cutting short the session and postponing further sessions for a few weeks may also work. Do not prematurely conclude that respondents' resistance is tantamount to a wish to terminate all further interviews. It may be, however, that your questions are treading on matters too sensitive for them to discuss with you. Be gently direct. If you observe resistance, ask about it: "It seems to me that you have not been comfortable. . . . Are there areas you'd rather not talk about?" You might even ask, "Do you think we ought to stop the interviews?" If you do not hear yes, then judge the quality of what you're hearing as you continue. If it is poor, shorten your list of questions and end the sessions sooner than planned.

Far removed from the problem of resistance is the problem of the nonstop talker. Respondent fluency is wonderful if on-topic, but if not, then learn to redirect the flow of talk. Making a wordless sound or a physical sign, such as a slightly upraised hand, may stop the stream of words so you can apologize for your interruption and pick up on something the respondent has said that you can probe. Or summarize what the respondent has said, and then bridge to where next you wish to go. The idea is to avoid making an abrupt shift to a topic distant from where the respondent's talk had been.

In interviews, as in ordinary conversations, people make contradictory statements. Consider the possibilities that contradictions connote: the evolution of the respondent's thinking about the topic; the respondent's confusion about the topic; the respondent's being comfortably of two minds about the topic. Is the topic generating the contradictions worthy of clarification? If so, then probe further into the respondent's most recent statement, right then and there. You can raise the topic again at your next session, inviting more thought on it. You could also take the two seemingly contradictory positions and put them into a question like the following: "I've heard some people say . . . I've heard other people say . . . What is your thinking about these two positions?" When the respondent has replied, you can continue: "Is it possible that both are right?" The point is that when you ask questions, especially about complex matters, you cannot reasonably expect complete, carefully considered responses to be readily at hand. If you allow respondents time to think, then you will get more reflective replies. It may also be that, when explained, the responses that at first appeared contradictory to you are not at all.

Though not a problem in the same sense as those just stated, you may find it difficult to decide whether or not the interviews—a particular session or the entire series with one person—went well. In one sense, "going well" means getting answers that fit the questions you ask and that you can visualize as part of your forthcoming report; careful listening will indicate whether this criterion is met. In another, more serious sense, going well means creating connection and trust so that the talk delves

below the surface of things and is meaningful to interviewees as well as to you. Clearly, the more one deems a person trustworthy, the more he or she will speak fully and frankly to that person. Thus, judging how the interviews are going may be tentative at first—you feel good about the interview because the flow of talk was easy, smooth, uninhibited, and on target—and confirmed or challenged later as relationships develop (or don't), and as you continue to learn through your fieldwork.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Facilitating a discussion on a particular topic among a selected set of people, or **focus group** interviewing, has gained popularity in recent years. Gathering a group together to answer questions on a topic is not, however, a new data-gathering technique. During World War II, for example, focus group research was used to develop effective training material for the troops (Morgan, 1997). After the war, focus groups were used primarily for market research until the 1980s, when health researchers, in particular, began using group interviews to develop better means of education related to health issues like contraception and AIDS prevention. Other disciplines increasingly embrace focus group research. Group interviews are particularly useful in action and evaluation research, where participants express multiple perspectives on a similar experience, such as the implementation of a particular policy. A focus group can also be valuable in a pilot study. If participants are selected from the research site and know that part of their purpose is to assist in creating the research design, they can help you learn about aspects of the research site—language, norms, customs—in addition to helping you figure out overall research questions, participant selection and data collection strategies, and, perhaps, ways in which the research can better involve and contribute to the community or group being researched.

I tend to use *focus group* interchangeably with *group interview*, although some distinguish differences. For example, Bloor and Wood (2006) state, “Group interviews tend to proceed as a question-and-answer session with the researcher posing the questions, whereas focus groups will be characterized by more debate among the participants themselves perhaps facilitated by focusing exercises” (p. 99). Using these definitions, a researcher might set up a group interview to save time and travel by being able to interview more than one person over the same time period. Each participant would be expected to answer the same question in turn. In contrast, the researcher would use a focus group to better understand how a group would discuss some issue and elicit multiple perspectives in the process. Group interviews, as defined above, are not an ideal way to do interviews. They allow for neither confidentiality nor ease in the conversational and probing aspects possible in individual interviews. Although group interviews, in this light, might be the only means for data collection in some situations, they set the scene for neither the depth nor the intensity that can be reached through both one-on-one and focus group interviews.

Morgan provides a comprehensive discussion of focus group research in his text *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research* (1997). He suggests that “the simplest test of whether focus groups are appropriate for a research project is to ask how

actively and easily the participants would discuss the topic of interest” (p. 17). Planning focus group research requires some different design decisions than are needed for one-on-one interviews: Where can you meet as a group? Whom should you invite to participate in each group? How many people should be in each group? How many groups should you include? Morgan gives sound advice on each of these issues as summarized in Figure 4.6 on designing focus group interviews. If you are planning to include focus groups in your research, read his book.

Where?	Focus group interviews often take place in some sort of community office space, a university seminar room, or, occasionally, in someone’s living room. In the “two-thirds” world, focus groups generally take place in a public space, frequently outdoors.
Who?	Depending upon the topic, homogeneous groups in terms of gender, age, race, sexual orientation, etc., can allow for a more free-flowing, relaxed conversation as well as facilitate the development of analytical concepts based upon data gathered in different kinds of groups. As Morgan (1997) warns, you want homogeneity in potentially influential background variables, but not in attitudes toward the topic. Focus groups are generally made up of strangers, but in some cases, such as in most action and evaluation research projects, participants may be coworkers, classmates, or otherwise known to each other.
How many in a group?	Small groups of six to ten participants generally work best. If the groups are larger, they tend to break into subgroup discussions that are difficult to facilitate and record.
How many groups?	Projects generally plan for three to five focus groups, but as Morgan (1997, p. 44) states, “The safest advice is to determine a target number of groups in the planning stage but to have a flexible alternative available if more groups are needed.”
How long should a focus group interview last?	Generally, focus group gatherings are scheduled for one to two hours. Morgan (1997, p. 47) suggests setting the length at ninety minutes, but telling the participants to plan on two hours. This allows for longer discussions if the conversation is intense and also helps control for either a late start or early leavers.
How many questions are needed?	Four or five good questions should suffice for a somewhat structured focus group session. In a more unstructured session, you may need to pose only one or two broadly stated topics or questions.

FIGURE 4.6 Designing Focus Group Interviews

Focus group interviewing relies heavily on facilitation or moderator skills. As in individual interviews, the researcher designs questions aimed at getting words to fly. Unlike in one-on-one interviews, however, discussion does not rely on turn taking between interviewer and participant. Instead, it depends on interaction within the group, stimulated by the researcher's questions. The researcher becomes the moderator or discussion facilitator, who helps the group set up ground rules at the beginning (only one person talking at a time, allowing others to have their say, etc.) and then may have to only pose or redirect a question from time to time, keeping track of the clock so that the various items are addressed. As in individual interviews, the focus group facilitator often begins the session with an experiential question that each participant answers in turn, providing some baseline data and serving to get everyone comfortable in talking. Sometimes, at the end, each person is again asked to speak, summarizing his or her position on the topic. Morgan (1997) provides a good list of techniques for moderating groups with varying levels of facilitator involvement. He notes that if your focus group comprises teachers or organizational personnel who are used to managing groups, then, with a little instruction, they will run the groups for you.

Although focus group talk may excite you with its liveliness, recording the discussions can be challenging. Except in sessions where participants run discussions themselves, trying to both moderate and note discussion is difficult. Recording the discussion is generally necessary (perhaps with two recorders in different locations to pick up soft voices as well as to have one recorder act as backup). It helps to bring along someone to assist with notation, that is, someone who can jot down who is speaking along with several spoken words so that the recording can be deciphered more easily.

Internet technology has simplified recording issues for researchers who conduct real-time focus groups online. In real-time online discussion groups, all participants are online at the same time. The researcher poses a question, and participants type responses that are transmitted to the whole group. People can reply to any message at any time. Advantages include having a recorded script of the discussion, with each respondent identified, and the ability to have a virtual meeting space in which geographically separated people can participate. These virtual gatherings are inexpensive and tend to be easier to schedule than face-to-face focus groups. Disadvantages include the inability to easily facilitate discussions because they move rapidly, with people responding simultaneously to different messages. And sometimes, the person who types the fastest dominates the discussion or determines the direction it takes (Mann & Stewart, 2000).

Virtual reality sites are another possibility for online focus groups and address some of the disadvantages of chat groups. Participants log onto a virtual world, choose an avatar, and sometimes upload photos. A room with a large seminar table and chairs (or campfire with logs) could be the setting. As participants join the virtual world, their avatars appear, and the real-time discussions can begin.

Non-real-time focus groups can be conducted also. This process is more like email; questions go out to all participants, and each responds to the group when convenient within a set time period. Advantages include the ability to include

people from diverse time zones; to generate long, reflective comments; and to involve a large number of people (Mann & Stewart, 2000). A disadvantage is that you tend to lose the interactive group nature, the strength of most focus group research. Setting up a blog can also serve as a kind of non-real-time focus group (Runte, 2008). Alternatively, preestablished blogs can be a source of varying perspectives on a topic. For example, a nurse pursuing research on issues in elder care found a wealth of material at a *New York Times* blog site called “The New Old Age.”

In summary, focus group interviewing can be an efficient use of time that allows simultaneous access to the perspectives of a number of people on a topic. It can be useful also as a way to interact with research participants and receive their guidance. In addition, focus group research can have emancipatory qualities if the topic is such that the discussion gives voice to silenced experiences or augments personal reflection, growth, and knowledge development.

Focus group research is not without drawbacks. In particular, ethical problems related to confidentiality can arise, and the researcher may therefore decide to not bring up certain topics. With focus groups, the researcher should expect to not get as in-depth information from any one person as with individual interviews, although multiple sessions with the same group can create deep reflections and sharing. And although the discussion may generate new ideas as people explore their experiences and perspectives, it may also silence some people whose ideas are quite different from those of the majority of the group. Contrarily, some might pose a more extreme perspective than they would ordinarily simply to counterbalance an opposing viewpoint. Finally, setting up the focus group event takes work, and moderating the discussion can be exhausting as one tries to balance allowing the discussion to flow and guiding its direction.

A CRITIQUE OF THE CONVENTIONAL INTERVIEW

A group of students, several other faculty, and I had just entered a Warli village in India, where we were going to stay several days. The Warli, like other indigenous groups in India, have been struggling for land rights in the forested hill areas where they have traditionally lived. Our group of thirty-four dropped sleeping bags and packs in the community building, a large wattle-and-daub structure with an earth floor covered by a veneer of cow dung that binds the dirt and keeps down the dust. After being fed a meal of rice, dhal, and greens, our translator-guides said that the village women would meet with the female students inside the room where we had put our belongings and that the village men would meet with the male students outside under a tree.

As part of an international education program focusing on culture, ecology, and justice, we were living and studying in five different countries over an eight-month period. In addition to other assignments, each student was responsible for doing comparative research on a topic of his or her choice, such as women’s roles in agriculture or causes and impacts of migration. The students, therefore, were

not at a loss for questions when the opportunity presented itself. Although not always adept in forming good questions that elicited on-target answers, the students were beginning to feel uneasy about a larger issue. How were the questions setting the stage for a specific type of interaction, more or less controlled by ourselves, the outsiders? How were our questions limiting what we were learning? What would happen if we had no questions, no agenda?

We proceeded with our questions. After a while, the students gave the floor to Jo, whose research project focused on reproductive health. She asked, "What kinds of problems do women have during childbearing?" Our interpreter, who had worked as an advocate and activist among the villagers, suggested that she change the question so it asked each woman to state how many children she had borne and, of those, how many were living. One by one the women answered, "I have born seven children, three are living." "Five, two are alive." "Nine, four are still with me." These simple answers by each woman, often holding a child in her lap in our circle on the dirt floor, were stunning in revealing the complexity of the women's physical and emotional lives, and in contrasting their lives to our own. Previously formulated questions disappeared as students urgently wanted to know more of these women's lives: Why had their children died? What happens when a child dies? What role do husbands play in child rearing? What are the daily tasks required of the woman? Now that so many men have to migrate to other areas to earn cash, how has that necessity affected the women's lives? The women smiled over our questions and always politely answered. When one laughed as she said, "Well, I'm glad the men are gone often—they aren't here to beat us as much," we were again bewildered, not only by her statement but that she had laughed as she said it. We didn't know how to begin to interpret. We had little context for understanding.

Equally, they wanted to know about us and seemed amazed with our answers when they turned our question around and asked us—at least twenty women of childbearing age—how many children we have had and how many had died. None of us had children. They then wanted to know how many of us were married, since we were all beyond the age at which they marry (generally by age thirteen). None of us were married. They wanted to know what kinds of crops we raised. None of us were from farm families, although some of us liked to garden and grew a few summer vegetables when we were in one place long enough. They asked questions of us that we hadn't considered asking of them: What songs did we sing in the evenings? What dances did we dance together? The only dance we could come up with that we all knew was the hokey-pokey. As the exchange continued, we, the outsiders, despite our vast economic privileges, began to feel bankrupt in cultural practices and community connections. I do not know what the Warli women thought of us overall, but some expressed sincere sympathy for me, a woman with graying hair, who had neither husband nor children.

That researchers would even consider asking strangers questions about their lives is a practice developed over the last century, a practice reflecting, in part, the democratization of knowledge or the belief that everyone has a perspective to contribute. According to Gubrium and Holstein (2002a), the acceptance and growth of

interview research is part of modernization. Those of us from westernized countries are used to surveys and interviews as a way of gathering information. We fill them out or take the time to answer questions without giving it much thought. Interviewing is not only an accepted research method in Western cultures, but also a main source of entertainment, whether listening to Terry Gross on public radio or watching Oprah Winfrey on television.

In order for this democratization of knowledge to occur, another change took place first: the individualization of the *self*. “The notion of the bounded, unique self, more or less integrated as the center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action, is a very recent version of the subject” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002a, p. 6). In many societies, a collective self made up of family or community or tribe is the seat of authority, not the individual. The collective self is a concept that’s difficult to grasp for those raised in individual-focused societies.

The interview process, despite being the mainstay data-gathering technique in qualitative research and despite its role in documenting the voices of many perspectives, can also be seen as having its roots in a kind of colonizing approach to research. Typically, the researcher is “in control,” developing the questions and thereby determining the direction of the interaction. Typically, the interviewer tries to remain open and to not influence what the respondent will say through body language or verbally. The respondent can thereby be viewed as a receptacle of knowledge that the researcher exploits. And the researcher, although managing the interaction, is also somewhat passive in that, other than the questions, he or she contributes little to what is being said.

As poststructuralist scholars challenge conventional research practices, the interview process is under scrutiny. How can we co-construct interviews? How do we learn from each other and create a dynamic in which we co-construct knowledge? Do different situations call for different kinds of interview practices? When? How do we decide?

Bringing these “considerations” up here is not meant to imply that you should disregard this chapter with advice steeped in the interpretive research paradigm. All disciplines go through “moments” (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000)—and sometimes fads—in which scholars embrace new ideas, reassemble them, incorporate some aspects, discard others. Qualitative research is not a static procedure, and those who practice it hope it never becomes so. Current challenges make the process personally interesting and morally vital as we struggle to determine the kind of researcher we each want to be and how our choices reflect, challenge, and contribute to the world in which we live.

Through these considerations, I also want to remind you that what we come to know, whether “gathered” or “co-constructed,” is always partial, always fragmented. I mentioned that while we were inside the community center with the Warli women, the male students and faculty were outside with the Warli men. While our group of women grew increasingly depressed with what we were learning, the male students were feeling elated. They and the Warli men had discussed intensely the struggles for community and for communal autonomy. They had shared philosophical perspectives and found common ground in their needs for connection, friendship, and

brotherhood. In the same village, on the same evening, we regrouped from our conversations with two very different understandings of Warli life.

Qualitative research provides many opportunities to engage feelings within both researcher and research participants. The feelings in question are those that are involved in research relationships (the matters of rapport, trust, and friendship) and those that are involved in reactions to and reflections on the research topic and process (the matters of subjectivity, intersubjectivity, and reflexivity). All of these are issues discussed in the next chapter.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holstein, J., & Gubrium, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ives, E. D. (1995). *The tape-recorded interview: A manual for field workers in folklore and oral history* (2nd ed.). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Morgan, D. (1997). *Focus groups as qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

EXERCISES

Class Exercises

1. The following activity is adapted from Berg (1995, p. 63). Turn to a classmate and decide who will be the speaker and who the listener. The instructor assigns a topic that students know about but are not particularly invested in, such as opinions on the tenure and promotion process for university professors. The speaker talks for thirty seconds on the topic, and then the listener repeats what he or she has heard, using the speaker's words ("I" statements). Change roles and repeat the exercise. The instructor then assigns a more personal topic, such as first conscious awareness of racism, and increases the time allotment to a minute. Follow the same procedure as above. At the end of the exercise, discuss nonverbal aspects of the two scenarios: What were differences in body language? In the level of sound? In the tone of the talk? Which kind of topic would make for a better interview? What kinds of things should the interviewer observe, in addition to listening to the words being spoken?
2. Return to your class's practice research statement developed at the end of Chapter 2. As a class exercise, create five interview questions that would help to obtain an understanding of the chosen topic. Pilot the questions by interviewing each other. Each student should have time to be both interviewer and interviewee. As interviewers, take full running notes of the interview. As interviewees, reflect on the questions and make suggestions to reword, extend, or delete. After the interviews, reflect as a group both on the questions and on the interviewing process. As homework, type up your interview transcript, filling in details where remembered. Hold onto these transcripts for a later exercise.

Individual Exercises

1. This exercise is based on an idea from a suggestion by Roorbach (1998) for prompts in memoir writing. With your topic firmly in mind, imagine that you are the interviewee and that you are sitting across from Oprah Winfrey (or Terry Gross). Without any notes in front of you, turn on a tape recorder and enact the interview, playing both the interviewer and the interviewee. What questions does Oprah ask? Which ones are fun and interesting to answer? Which ones are perhaps more difficult, but particularly thought-provoking? Which ones make you pause and say, "Wow, what a good question"? Continue through the interview until it comes to a satisfactory close. Play the interview back and transcribe just the interview questions. Seriously consider how each might work for your research project.
2. After your interview with yourself, create five to ten open-ended interview questions for your research project. Pilot the questions with a classmate, asking your partner to pretend to be one of your participants. Work together to reshape the questions. Then pilot the questions with someone who has had experiences similar to your research population, or ask the questions of a research participant who is willing to collaborate with you on developing the questions. Reshape the questions again after reflecting upon what worked, what did not, and what new questions arose.

CHAPTER 5

Field Relations: Researcher Roles, Rapport, and Reflexivity

When I stayed away too long, they scolded and snubbed me. When I was not completely fair (and sometimes even when I was) in the distribution of attention, I paid dearly for it.

(Myerhoff, 1979, p. 27)

How do you interact with research participants? Which of your thoughts and activities do you share with them? In what ways do your various identities (age, gender, race, etc.) affect how you are perceived as well as what you hear, see, and interpret? How do you reflect upon these personal dimensions, and what in the world do you do with such reflections?

Not many decades ago, few considered such topics. Rather, researchers were urged to take a “fly-on-the-wall” approach, remaining neutral and impartial in their dealings with participants so that they would not influence actions and responses. With a primary purpose of contributing to scientific knowledge, research tended to ignore interests and desires of research participants. Researcher and researched were separate entities: One was the inquirer, and the other was the holder of particular knowledge. The inquirer’s role was to uncover or excavate that knowledge and to process the “raw” data into something usable by the scientific or academic communities to which the researcher belonged. It is no wonder that many today perceive such approaches to research as exploitative and label it **colonial research**. This chapter introduces you to some changes in thought and continuing debates about researchers’ roles and field relationships.

RESEARCHER ROLES AND PREDISPOSITIONS

The roles you take on as a researcher will be somewhat situationally determined, depending on your methodology and methods, the research context, the identities of your participants, and your own personality and values. This section begins by describing several aspects of the *researcher role* and some of the anxieties that frequently accompany that role. It then addresses some of the predispositions or attributes that are helpful to keep in mind as you take on the role of researcher.

Although self-evident, it is worth stating that as you become a researcher, you assume the role of researcher. If you have never been a researcher before, this may feel somewhat uncomfortable in that you need to be who you are in everyday life and also reflect upon others' expectations of you as a researcher. You are a researcher when you are sitting in the nurse station of a hospital taking notes or in the midst of a lengthy interview with a school principal; you are also a researcher when you talk informally in the grocery store with someone in your study. All of the ways and places in which you present yourself will communicate to others how a researcher acts. As a researcher, you become more attuned to your behavior and its impact than is usual in your day-to-day life. This degree of awareness may be uncomfortable, particularly in the early days of fieldwork. Developing a level of self-consciousness that has you carefully and continuously attending to your behavior and its consequences, however, is useful. You may want to also seek feedback from trusted persons in the research setting who can see you as you cannot see yourself.

Part of the researcher role means presenting yourself so that you will fit in and be welcomed. Self-presentation includes monitoring how you dress, what you say, and your specific actions. The point is that researchers are not merely present as people would be in ordinary circumstances. They shape their behavior throughout the study in a way that optimizes their research purposes. The extent to which you *should* modify behavior for research purposes is difficult to define: When does adaptation go too far? In everyday life, you present yourself differently in different situations. Research is one more occasion for fashioning a presence, albeit more self-consciously than is ordinarily the case. At some point, however, does this impression management transgress ethical boundaries?

Rather than take great care to present themselves as interested and competent researchers, a number of people have worked to conceal their researcher role and have collected research data through covert participant observation. In so doing, they have monitored carefully their presented self. Dalton (1959) worked covertly as a firm manager to investigate management. Homan (Homan & Bulmer, 1982) studied a Pentecostal sect as if he were a novice. Sullivan (Sullivan, Queen, & Patrick, 1958) lost weight, altered age, and adopted a "new personality" in order to study Air Force recruits. Humphreys (1970) studied homosexuals by taking on the role of "watch queen" in public restrooms. Researchers who study the powerful, the illegal, and the marginal often have relied on covert means of gathering data. Although some researchers argue that a measure of deception is acceptable in some areas when the benefits of knowledge outweigh the potential harm, current researchers and ethics boards tend to agree that covert inquiry is unethical and should be avoided.

In another matter of self-presentation, qualitative researchers sometimes worry over how emotionally close they can become with research participants and how much they can authentically share of themselves. Qualitative researchers are not always emotionally removed from and controlling of the research process, nor are they always openly sharing and seeking collaboration. Some topics easily lend themselves to (and call for) more dialogical sharing than others. In Busier's

1997 case studies of women in recovery from anorexia, the sharing of her own experience with anorexia allowed her access to women who would not have talked about their own experiences with someone who had not “been there.” Yet, in the fundamentalist Christian school study discussed in Chapter 3, expression of our beliefs and opinions might have denied us access to the school.

Davies (1996) notes how the interview, no matter how unstructured, is different from a conversation: “It is not a discussion where mutual information is shared, but one where the interviewee’s experience is placed at the centre” (p. 584). The researcher role puts you in the position of directing research purposes, observations, and questions. You do not do so, however, without interactions and negotiations with others in the research site. If uncomfortable with the hierarchical nature that can accompany this role, you could consider ways research participants could become more involved in or benefit more from the research. You could also choose topics that allow or require more sharing of self, work only on projects requested by research participants, or explore further the possibilities of action, critical, and poststructural research.

Accompanying the anxiety (as well as pride) associated with your new role as researcher is the feeling that your research is everywhere. In this heightened condition, you will see nonresearch settings as potential research sites. Skip had just delved into dissertation work on organizational performance and safety issues in hospitals. As a break, he went for a mountain trail run and encountered a search-and-rescue team looking for an injured and lost climber. Skip delayed his run to watch the base operations from a short distance. Then, unable to ignore the opportunity to learn how this group dealt with safety issues, he introduced himself and informally interviewed the team members waiting at the base. Unrelated events will trigger thoughts about your research. It may be that those near to you come to know you as another person: “I learned about creative chaos,” said Andrea. “I was organized in my research, but my house was a total mess. One day I took my son to school without his shoes. My mind was simply on other things.”

The following attributes or predispositions are useful to consider as you embark on qualitative research. To what extent you must master these attributes, which ones have primacy, or which others may be substituted depends on you and the inquiry. Each is associated with the lore of what makes for a good qualitative researcher, and each completes the sentence “A good qualitative researcher is ... ”

Anticipatory

As a good researcher, you look ahead and ask, “What does the situation call for?” Some of the specifics about what to anticipate already have been mentioned. Your research summary or information letter is an example. You consider both what you must say in order to present yourself and your project cogently and how what you say may vary from situation (to a pediatrician) to situation (to the child diagnosed with autism). What will you say to the second-grade class about your research when you first go to that classroom to observe? What materials and equipment do you need to assemble for your interview session? If meeting a

person for the first time, what do you already know and how might you learn more about the person before the interview? Where should you observe next and whom should you see next, in light of what you have been learning and not learning? Anticipation feeds off the results of taking stock, an activity that perhaps should be included at the end of the day in the daily task of journal writing. Reflecting on each day prepares you to anticipate what is next, both broadly, in terms of your inquiry, and narrowly, in terms of your next day's activities.

A Learner

Naïveté characterizes the researcher's special learner role. It entails a frame of mind by which you set aside assumptions that you know what your respondents mean when they tell you something. Rather, you continuously seek explanations about what they mean. The hazard is that your research is often on a topic about which you may know a great deal through study and personal experience. What you know is the basis for the assumptions that allow you to skip seeking explanations, probing for depth, and seeing new patterns. The difficulty of being a learner is that assumptions generally are useful for simplifying relations with others. In your research capacity, you need not be relentless in asking, "What do you mean?" Yet, you must be alert to taking on the mind-set of a learner, not that of an expert. The differences between these two roles are enormous. Pat reflected upon her role as interviewer and learner:

I found that I enjoyed the interviewing process, but I had to be careful not to make it into a performance where I was the "star interviewer." Instead, I had to be aware that I was just the "seeker of knowledge." This became an important distinction for me when I first started because I had been concerned about how I would do as the interviewer: I had to shift my attention from me to the topic at hand, and when I did this successfully, I found the interview to be enjoyable and meaningful.

Casting yourself as learner correspondingly casts the research participant as teacher. For many participants, helping you learn about their world is a satisfying role that enhances their participation in the research. And when you are a learner, you get taught.

Analytic

Analysis is a continuing process that begins as soon as the research begins. Observing and interviewing are about more than recording data. While observing and interviewing, you should also be considering relationships, salience, meanings, and explanations. These analytic acts lead to new observations and questions, and they also prepare you for the more concentrated period of analysis that follows the completion of data collection.

Gloria interviewed women who had left and then returned to the university. All had children. One woman told her that being away from home so much

required changes in her husband's participation in family life. Hearing this should have set bells ringing in Gloria's mind, but she was not listening analytically at the time. The respondent's husband had to redefine his roles as spouse and father. Gloria needed to also focus on the husband's behavior: to include questions about it, probe it, and consider its meaning for other respondents. By not listening analytically, she did not—right then and there—make further use of what she was hearing. When eventually you enter a period of extended data analysis, you will find the process easier if all along you have been observing and listening analytically and converting the results into questions for further exploration and into notes that expand your thoughts and ideas.

Reassuring

Among other qualities that could be used to describe a good researcher is the quality of being reassuring. A good researcher never does anything to make participants look or feel ignorant. You need to be attuned to a participant's anxiety at the prospect of being observed or interviewed. When trying to schedule interviews, for example, you may discover that respondents try to excuse themselves on the grounds that they have not had enough schooling or they don't know enough. Even otherwise sophisticated respondents can be diffident about their performance, saying, "I don't know if that's what you're looking for or not." Respondents may perceive your questions as testing, in the way they thought of questions as students at school; they may perceive your observations as evaluations, in the way that supervisors periodically evaluate performance. Accordingly, you need to reassure participants not only when you present yourself at the outset of data-gathering arrangements, but also in the course of the research when they understandably want to know if they are being helpful to you. You need to reassure them that it is perfectly permissible to act in whatever way they normally do and to say during interviews, "I don't know," "I have no idea," or "I never even thought about that before." The observed teacher needs to feel reassured about what the researcher is scribbling at the back of the classroom and what will happen to the scribbblings. Interviewees need to be told that they cannot give "wrong" responses: They simply need to verbalize their stories, opinions, and feelings, and remain comfortable when they do not remember something or have nothing to say to a question.

Grateful

After being in the field a while, student researchers find themselves saying to colleagues, "Well, my research suggests that ..." They are asked to give presentations. They begin receiving clips of relevant articles and notices from coworkers and friends. And they begin to gain pleasure and confidence in their role as researcher. As you become a professional researcher, communicate your thanks to those in your research site. Leave time after observations and interviews for the expression of your gratitude and for other informal talk, and send notes of appreciation later on.

Gratitude to participants in the research is readily within your power to provide. Another type of return is not so easily within your grasp, though you can set it as a goal. Given the amount of time qualitative researchers spend in the research site, the research experience can affect participants' thoughts and behaviors. Observations and questions raise awareness and reflections. Participants often learn about themselves, the researcher, and research. In the course of an interview, a respondent shook his head and exclaimed, "I tell you things I've never told myself." Seek to make your research of such importance to research participants that they get something out of it simply by participating in it.

FIELD RELATIONSHIPS

Our informants tell and show us what they do because they are in a research situation with us as individuals; this encounter and the knowledge produced through it can never be objective. Therefore it is essential that we attempt to understand the subjectivities through which our research materials are produced.

(Pink, 2007, p. 367)

Qualitative research is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *fieldwork*. As a researcher, your work occurs in everyday places rather than in a laboratory setting. In those places, you develop relationships with others who live and interact there. You gain and maintain access, create rapport, develop trust, interact, and do something with what you've learned. You do none of this alone, but in relationship with others in the research site(s). The nature of these relationships is the topic of the next several sections.

Until the latter part of the twentieth century, fieldworkers were particularly conscious of trying to remove bias from their observations and interactions. They tried to avoid conveying their own perspectives on the issues into which they inquired. **Objectivity** and scientific detachment were constructs that many worked to achieve. Today, most researchers accept that objectivity in fieldwork is impossible and possibly not a desired goal. Russell Bishop (2008), writing from a Maori perspective, asserts that if researchers do not make explicit their interests and concerns but work to appear neutral and to monitor all subjectivity for the sake of objectivity, then they continue the colonizing enterprise. Savyasaachi (1998), a scholar and activist in India, explains that such neutrality "discourages dialogues and discourses across differences, prevents exchange of ideas and becomes a means to accumulate and monopolise symbolic capital" (p. 90). The research participant continues to be viewed as an object to be studied rather than as a person with whom to engage in conversation, and who both teaches and learns in the process. Establishing and maintaining openly subjective and dialogically engaged field relationships, however, is never a simple one-size-fits-all procedure.

Establishing and Maintaining Field Relationships

Rapport and Fitting In. Rapport and trust are concepts frequently used to describe aspects of ideal field relations in qualitative inquiry. The dictionary defines *rapport* as the “relation characterized by harmony, conformity, accord, or affinity” and notes also that it refers to the “confidence of a subject in the operator ... with willingness to cooperate” (*Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 2013). Traditionally, establishing rapport has been of primary interest to researchers as they seek to attain ends shaped by their research needs. If participants have some stake in the research purposes or have helped to determine inquiry goals, then the development of rapport is apt to be more mutual.

Rapport is often used interchangeably with *trust*, although some are careful to distinguish differences. Wieder (2004) sees “rapport as a research tool and trust as a living relationship” (p. 25), stating that it is trust, not rapport, that facilitates people to tell their stories. Rapport seems to act as a precursor to fostering trust and thus is part of gaining access and “fitting in.”

Bronislaw Malinowski’s emphasis on fieldwork sent generations of anthropologists, sociologists, and, later, healthcare workers, educators, and social workers into various natural settings to ascertain the *insider’s* point of view. The literature and lore of fieldwork portray consummate researchers as patient, friendly, and inoffensive. They have a high tolerance for ambiguity, learn the other’s language, wear appropriate dress, and maintain confidentiality. Such factors help the researcher fit in.

Measor (1985) discusses the role of appearance in her data collection in a British school. She found that how she looked mattered to both students and teachers and that this in itself caused a problem because each group had a different notion of appropriateness. As a result, Measor sought a compromise that showed she was fashion conscious, but not too much so.

Figuring out how to best manage behavior in order to fit in is not always easy either. Davis (2001) was interested in nurses’ use of computers and arranged to do ethnographic work in a hospital. Openly taking notes on her observations was easy because hospitals were paper-oriented cultures (and are now increasingly digitally oriented cultures). Her identity as researcher, however, was complicated by the ease with which she fit the setting. Patients mistook her for a receptionist when she sat in the office area and became annoyed when she continued with her note taking, rather than assisting them. When she sat for a while taking notes in the reception room, confusion still surfaced: “One patient who had suffered a heart attack asked me if I wanted to see the doctor before him” (p. 43).

In research with strangers, even in more collaborative research, chances are that to fit in, you will have to dress and act in certain ways that you might not otherwise. For Regina and Leon Oboler (1986), working with the Nandi in Kenya, developing rapport meant that they could not openly display affection for each other:

It pleased us when people would comment to us, with approval, that we acted just like Nandis because this implied that they viewed us as unlike the Europeans they had previously encountered. (p. 43)

You respect the customs and expectations within the culture of the group with whom you are working and consciously reflect upon your behavior so that your presence puts others at ease. This requires more consideration in some studies than in others. Teachers in the fundamentalist Christian day school that Peshkin (1986) and I studied were actively involved in rallies protesting the Equal Rights Amendment. As researchers concerned not only with rapport, but also with maintaining access to the school, we could not be seen endorsing what was antithetical to their core beliefs. Thus, rapport can place limitations on the researcher's personal interactions and expressions.

Yet you do not have to always agree with your research participants in order to fit in. Sometimes when researchers question participants' viewpoints, they receive information they would not obtain otherwise and are more accepted into a group as a result of open dialog. "Fieldworkers worry," state Kleinman and Copp (1993), "that participants will interpret disagreement as unfair criticism or rejection, and thus it will drive a wedge between them. But . . . saying what one thinks can be an *engaging* experience and thus constitute closeness rather than distance" (p. 40). As noted earlier in this chapter, research that involves dialog and exchange of ideas may be a prerequisite to access.

"Relationships are never static," states Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997b), "they are dynamic, evolving, and fluid. They are negotiated and renegotiated" (p. 135). Maintaining rapport calls for awareness of social interactions among participants and of your role within the group as a whole. Although you may remain uninvolved in the politics of your site, you still need to understand the political landscape and the pitfalls you might tumble into. It is no small matter to be aware of the formal and informal loci of power, of the issues that irritate, and of the history that continues to shape current behavior. All of this is part of rapport—both developing it and keeping it.

Juefei Wang (1995), an educational researcher from China living in Vermont, reflected on the role of time in the development of rapport in the United States and China. He indicates that rapport building may look very different in diverse cultures. After a short introduction to his study, Wang observed that most Vermont respondents were willing to talk openly with him. Most also were willing to participate in his research, but some would simply decline with a "No thank you, I'm not interested." Others responded to certain questions with a shake of the head or a shrug of the shoulders and an "I don't know." He contrasts the Vermont response to that in China:

Among the people I have interviewed in China, probably over a hundred altogether, I have never had the case of fast-paced rapport building. Even with young, open people, it takes me longer to build the trust. I have to find a way to make the interviewees believe that I am one of them. They talk about their families; I ask questions about their parents, wives, husbands, and children, and tell them about mine. They complain about their low pay; I tell them my pay is not high either. This is the process to build trust. It takes much longer, yet it can be long lasting.

In China, I have never had any refusal for cooperation. The frank American way of saying "I don't know" would not be acceptable by most Chinese. . . . They would always try to save face for me by not refusing me, yet they can always find a way not to give me anything valuable or anything at all. (p. 2)

Wang describes how it took him over a week in China to get personal information from a school principal that in the United States, he would have received in much less time. He states:

Modesty is still a virtue of the nation. This fact makes it very difficult when a researcher tries to find out about the interviewee's roles in an organization. The interviewee talks about other's contributions without talking about him or herself. (p. 3)

Part of your role as researcher is to learn the culturally appropriate ways to develop and maintain rapport and to make the necessary cultural bridges in your own expectations and behavior.

When asked, "How do you know when you have rapport?" students in a qualitative research course replied:

- "The way the interview goes shows rapport. When the interviewee keeps looking at her watch, you know you have not achieved good rapport."
- "Rapport comes when the interviewee gets something out of the interview. One person told me, 'No one has asked me this before.' In good interview situations, people think about things that they have not put together before. They learn about themselves in the process. Another person told me, 'I think I got more out of this than you did.'"

The first student described how being attuned to the nonverbal language of participants can inform you about your research relationship, although people do check the time for reasons other than boredom. The second student introduced the concept of reciprocity into the relationship, showing that rapport is more easily achieved if both parties get something out of the interaction. If the research is about a topic near and dear to participants' lives or if the research will potentially assist the community, participants often will welcome the opportunity to take part.

This willingness can be found where least expected. Andrea received a letter from one of her interviewees after their first meeting. The interviewee expressed a sincere desire to get together again, sent information relevant to their discussion, apologized for being too enthusiastic, and complimented Andrea on the approach she was taking to investigating change in a small rural community. The interviewee was a developer, and Andrea had postponed talking with him because she doubted her ability to keep an open, interested, learner perspective. Ironically, she found herself fascinated both by what he

had to say and by his clear, logical, sensitive way of expressing his point of view. You don't have to be alike to have a relationship. As Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997b) states, "Relationships are defined by individuality and contrast as much as by connection" (p. 135). Rapport between Andrea and the developer was achieved, obviously, and they created a foundation for a trusting relationship.

Building Trust and Taking Breaks. Once rapport has led to trust, people are generally more willingly to talk about personal or sensitive issues. Although contact over a long period of time does not ensure the development of trust, time may prove to be a necessary condition. Time allows you to substantiate that you will keep the promises you made when negotiating access, and time allows you and participants to grow in relationship to each other.

Dick tells of doing an interview with a teacher aspiring to be a principal. Dick had a single, one-and-one-half hour interview scheduled and felt dismayed going into it. "These people," he said beforehand, "will never tell a stranger all this information." But the interviewee was someone who was comfortable with Dick. After forty-five minutes, during which Dick thought he was getting good information, the interviewee asked, "Now that I know you, can we go back to one of the earlier questions?" Dick was delighted that he had been able to develop rapport sufficient for the interviewee to reveal deeper layers of information. He also learned that many layers of data existed and that even though his single-session interviews might give him enough data for his purposes, he was getting "thinner" data than he could have received through multiple interviews and a trusting relationship.

Researching with children and adolescents adds extra dimensions to the research process. The role the researcher takes with children (supervisor, leader, observer, friend) affects the development of trust and the kind of information gathered. Fine and Sandstrom (1988) distinguish researcher relationships with children on the dimensions of degree of positive contact between child and researcher and degree of authority by the researcher over the child. In particular, they explore what it means for an adult to be a "friend" with a child. In her dissertation research with adolescent girls, Rebecca cultivated a friendly relationship with the girls. Her contact with them was highly positive. She arrived at their homes with art supplies, drove them to ice cream shops, and engaged them in talk that led to their requesting personal advice from her. Although responsible for the girls when with them, Rebecca did not have authority over them. Her evolving connection to the girls was one of trust and led her to realize that she could not simply say "good-bye" when her data collection was through. Rebecca maintained contact after the study.

Feldman, Bell, and Berger (2003, pp. 36–38) discuss how *commitment acts* can foster trust. Commitment acts are those activities in which you, as researcher, offer time or energy to the community you are researching, as Rebecca did with the girls in her study. Through commitment acts, you get to know each other as people, you give back in some way to the community, and you demonstrate that you value time and interactions with participants.

“Once we feel connected to the people we study, we think we must consistently feel good about them” (Kleinman & Copp 1993, p. 28). Always feeling good about the people involved in the research, however, may not be easy. Given the stress of fieldwork, maintaining relationships sometimes requires taking breaks. Immersed in a life that is not your normal one, you may periodically need to get away to be with friends and family or to talk to those who have similar beliefs and ideas if they are not shared in the research site. You may need to blow off steam or simply disappear for a few days so that you do not destroy the rapport and trust that have been established.

Fieldwork accounts do not always address this need, but field notes and journals do. Malinowski’s diary (1967) while among the Trobriand Islanders is a well-known example. It became the place for him to vent his feelings and make statements that would not have endeared him to his host community. Taking breaks promotes your ability to mindfully make the multitude of daily decisions needed in your work. Gaining distance by whatever means—trips, reading, and personal journals—is sometimes necessary. Remember, too, that you do not need to like or be liked by all research participants. As Wax (1971) states, “One can learn a great deal from people one dislikes or from people who dislike one” (p. 373). Yet your work is apt to be more rewarding for all parties if mutual liking occurs.

Complicating and Enriching Dynamics in Field Relationships: Friendships and Power

It is not indifference, but care, concern and involvement that sustains a continuous discourse with people and prepares the ground for the legitimacy of an inquiry.

(Savyasaachi, 1998, p. 110)

What happens when you cultivate not only friendly relations with people in your research, but also friendships? How does the nature of friendship change what you do and learn? Can research friendships really be equitable, or is the researcher always in a position of power? This section addresses problems and possibilities associated with friendships and power in the field.

In the past, when distinctions between rapport and friendship were made in qualitative literature, the overwhelming tendency was to warn against forming friendships because of the hazards of sample bias and loss of objectivity. *Overidentification*, *overrapport*, and *going native* were terms used to describe researchers who became friends with research participants, fell in love, or got involved in causes of the research community (Gold, 1969; Miller, 1952; Shafir, Stebbins, & Turowetz, 1980; Van Maanen, 1983). As Tedlock (2000) writes, researchers were “to cultivate rapport, not friendship; compassion, not sympathy; respect, not belief; understanding, not identification; admiration, not love” (p. 457).

Friendship, it was argued, could result in a somewhat unconscious subjective selection process that would bias what was learned (Gans, 1982; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Pelto & Pelto, 1978; Zigarmi & Zigarmi, 1978). Researchers might be tempted to talk primarily with people they liked or found politically sympathetic. If they followed such impulses, "the pleasure of participant observation [would] increase significantly, but the sampling of people and situations . . . may become badly distorted" (Gans, 1982, p. 52). Or it could be that researchers would talk to a variety of people but overidentify with one group. They then would hear what this group had to tell them, but less fully what other groups told them. Therefore, they might censor their own questioning process to avoid alienating those whom they liked or admired.

Friendship could also serve to deny researchers access to some groups of people: "Every firm social relationship with a particular individual or group carries with it the possibility of closed doors and social rebuffs from competing segments of the community" (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 184). In my Caribbean research, I attempted to maintain access simultaneously to alienated young adults, to unalienated young adults, to government officials, and to estate owners. I found myself frequently explaining to those of the mainstream the importance of my time with the more marginal.

In sum, in the past, friendship has been perceived as a relationship that affects the behavior of researcher and participants, with consequences for data collection and analysis. This implied that researchers should avoid friendships in the research setting or, at least, with research participants.

Currently, friendships in the field are perceived somewhat differently. Throughout history, some researchers have formed friendships with people in the research site, fallen in love, and become *complete members* of a new society. They just did not write about it as freely as they can now. Tedlock (2000, p. 458) suggests that the prescription against friendship was more than Western science's obsession with objectivity. She locates it in a colonial context, where crossing from rapport to friendship and love was viewed as a kind of cultural and racial degeneration.

Feminist researchers have been at the forefront of advocating research relationships that include reciprocity, empathy, equality, and, if possible, friendship. Friendship is not something you can develop at will, however. Something more than rapport and trust is required for creating the care and connection that are part of friendship. Expectations that you can be friends with everyone in your research site are also unreasonable. Wincup (2001), for example, reflects upon her research with women awaiting trial:

Although I established rapport and empathy with some women and formed close research relationships with others, I also had negative feelings toward some during the fieldwork. Most women who appeared in courts were charged with minor property offences, however, I met women charged with crimes of violence, child abuse, and murder. I also saw women bullying and victimizing other women. (p. 28)

The research process itself may cause the friendship to become stretched and frayed. The care and connection that are a mainstay of friendship face extra challenges in research situations. As Behar (1993) states:

Feminist ethnographers have found themselves caught inside webs of betrayal they themselves have spun; with stark clarity, they realize that they are seeking out intimacy and friendship with subjects on whose backs, ultimately, the books will be written upon which their productivity as scholars in the academic marketplace will be assessed. (p. 297)

Henry (1992) discusses what happened to an eighteen-year friendship when she hired her Japanese friend as her research assistant. She traces her confusion as the friendship became strained due to the competing demands of friendship and the research. Although she felt that the situation ultimately contributed to a deeper understanding of the people studied, she lost a good relationship in the process.

Friendship and intimacy are messy, emotional, and vital. No matter how much you try to practice “relational ethics” (Flinders, 1992) with research participants, no matter how much your friendships go beyond the inquiry, feelings of exploitation or betrayal may erupt from time to time in either researcher or participant. Yet friendships in themselves are not always without pain, nor do they always last forever.

Generally speaking, if researchers make most of the decisions regarding with whom they talk, what they observe, and how and for whom they analyze and write up the data, they are in a position of power relative to research participants. It is this position of power that Behar addresses in her quotation. Leslie Bloom (1998) notes that power is not necessarily something that you have or don’t have; rather, “power is situated and contextualized within particular intersubjective relationships” (p. 35). She makes the useful observation that discussions about researcher power often conflate power, researcher responsibility, and exploitation, suggesting “that having the authority to collect data, interpret it, and produce a text is inherently an act of exploitation or even violence done by the researcher to the almost victimized respondent” (p. 36). Bloom points out that a difference exists between the researcher’s power to use the research for personal and academic gains and the researcher’s power to be responsible and responsive to the research participant and to the researcher–participant relationship. The methodology and theoretical stance do not determine the researcher’s ability to be responsible and responsive.

In collaborative inquiry, however, power is often shared more equitably or possibly lies more with the community that is the focus of study. As people work together toward a common goal or purpose, particularly when addressing injustices or inequities, people from various economic, cultural, and racial backgrounds can become partners in a struggle, and they more easily maintain friendships. Through oral history work in South Africa, Wieder (2004) provides an example:

While my position as an American academic, an outsider, appeared to help facilitate interviews initially, my relationships with South African colleagues, the teachers I interviewed, and living in Cape Town, moved me on an unwritten continuum towards insider status because we connected as educators and human beings. (p. 25)

Similar to Wieder's reflections, Marleen Pugach (personal correspondence, 1995) writes of a research relationship that exemplifies connection and care:

Last March first I drove north, ate my last green chile cheeseburger at the Owl Bar, and headed east, away from the mountains and toward my other home in Wisconsin. Today, my former landlady called to tell me, a year to the day after I left, that a good friend of mine had died. . . . The shock is enormous—I am not ready for Carmen to be gone. She was the one who would not let me tape record our conversations, but she shared the most phenomenal stories about the old "Hispanic" community from up on the river. . . .

She told me that living "out of town" would be fine for the kids, that she had raised one in the city and one in the country. That comment gave me the confidence to rent our house amidst the yucca, mesquite, roadrunners and rattlesnakes. I don't think she knew that. We used to meet for breakfast or lunch at my favorite hole-in-the-wall Mexican restaurant. . . . Our meetings crossed the line between research and friendship. . . .

We talked last in November, just before her son's wedding. I sent a Christmas card, I never found out if she read the copy of *Animal Dreams* I sent as a thank-you gift for having us all there in August. This is not a research relationship. I went to Havens to learn enough to tell a story, but the real story is that you can't separate yourself from the people who welcomed you for all those months. . . . I am left with the uncomfortable feeling that spending time in a place you want to study is a real liability if you're inclined to build relationships. It's not a case of collaborative research for the purpose of action. . . . It's a case of friendship, not cultivated over long years, but with depth because you recognize that you were meant to be friends even if the study had never happened; it was simply the occasion for a friendship that already should have been.

Bringing qualitative research into what is already your home territory releases you from this potential liability; you keep your friends, your social context, and you tiptoe only a little distance from where you always have been. Intensive fieldwork in a new location pushes the question. It is not an issue of power relationships that I'm trying to understand here. Instead, it echoes the things I've been wondering about for months: can you do ethnography without making wonderful, lifelong friends? Would you want to? . . . Carmen helped me, to be sure, and it is only if I write well that I can properly acknowledge her contributions. But what I really wish is that she would still be there, on the ranch, telling me that whenever I return to Havens, my room there is ready.

Marleen's reflections demonstrate how research relationships can transcend the public realm into the personal. Her story moves us to consider how we want to experience the multiple kinds of relationships that might enter into research. She suggests that we interact with openness, honesty, and respect, not with the walls of professional distancing. In effect, Marleen urges us to go beyond rapport and to act from the heart and to honor the consequences of those actions.

Marleen's words are also a reminder that at some point, your inquiry ends, and along with it the nature of your relationships with others in the research site. Entering into the research has a sense of nervous excitement about it. Leaving the field may be bittersweet. You are glad to be done and have your life return to normal. You can finally get to the neglected tasks in other aspects of your life, and

you can once again spend time with family and old friends. Still, you are sad because something important is over. You may be leaving good relationships and good times. Even if you never personally accepted others' ideologies, most likely you came to empathize and enjoy interacting with them. Most likely, you never will return to the setting under the same circumstances.

You may feel dislocated when you return full time to prefieldwork life. After all, you have adjusted to living properly in another place with a new set of acquaintances and, sometimes, new friends. You also may feel different about yourself because long-time immersion in someone else's life can enhance your general self-awareness. You may find yourself reevaluating your "normal" life through comparisons with the lifestyle of research participants. You may miss people, places, and ways of doing things. Of course, leaving a village in a different state or country is different from leaving a secondary school in the city in which you normally live, but departure from both tends to be bittersweet. "It's an open secret, but coming home from the field is as tough as going out. Maybe even tougher" (Berlinski, 2007, p. 273).

REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity is an awareness of the self in the situation of action and of the role of the self in constructing that situation.

(Bloor & Wood, 2006, p. 145)

Although the term **reflexivity** is used in somewhat varied ways, it generally refers to critical reflection on how researcher, research participants, setting, and research procedures interact and influence each other (Pillow, 2003). "The reflexive lens," state Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995), "helps us see and appreciate how our own renderings of others' worlds are not and can never be descriptions from outside those worlds. Rather, they are informed by and constructed in and through relationships with those under study" (p. 216). Reflexivity entails reflecting upon and asking questions of research interactions all along the way, from embarking on an inquiry project to sharing the findings. You ask these questions of yourself and record reflections in your field log. You ask questions of others about the research process and listen carefully to what they say, noting their answers, and perhaps changing the course of inquiry. You listen to the questions asked of you by research participants and consider how the questions may indicate certain concerns or expectations. You answer as fully as you can and examine why you answered in the way you did. You ask questions of the theoretical context for your research and of the sociocultural-political context in which you ask your questions. In a sense, you conduct two research projects at the same time: one into your topic and the other into you, your interactions, and the research process.

Qualitative researchers tend to illustrate aspects of reflexive thought by including in final reports a demonstration of inquiry into their own subjectivities and into the trustworthiness of their research methods, interpretations, and representations (Madison, 2012; Potter, 1996). The following sections on subjectivity, positionings, and trustworthiness discuss further the work of reflexivity. A focus

on subjectivity stimulates an examination of values, beliefs, and autobiographical experiences engaged by the research. Being attuned to your emotions and tracking them throughout the research process assists in revealing not only subjectivities, but also the various positionings or identity categories called into play. Asking questions about the trustworthiness of research decisions and interpretations demonstrates reflexive thought on the research process, and contributes, possibly, to more rigorous, useful, and meaningful work.

Subjectivity

Any study of “an other” is also a study of “a self.”

(Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater 2002, p. xiii)

Traditionally, the term **subjectivity** was equated with bias and was seen as something to control against. In the 1980s and early 1990s, researchers based in the interpretivist paradigm began to dispute the notion of subjectivity as something negative (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Oleson, 2000; Peshkin, 1988b; Wolcott, 1995). Rather than bias, they saw subjectivity as the researcher’s personal selves created historically and as an integral part of interpretive work. They began to embrace subjectivity and what it could mean. Peshkin, for example, titled one article “Virtuous Subjectivity: In the Participant–Observer’s I’s” (1988b) and another “In Search of Subjectivity—One’s Own” (1988a). The perspective among qualitative researchers at that time was that although bias should be monitored and omitted where possible, subjectivity, in terms of personal history and passions, could contribute to research. They claimed that qualitative researchers could neither escape themselves nor should desire to do so. Peshkin was among the first to make explicit the different ways in which he was present in his research.

Peshkin¹ (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) viewed subjectivity as autobiographical, emotional states that are engaged by different research situations. He reflected upon his various research projects and the different subjective lenses they elicited. When he did his study in Mansfield, a small, rural midwestern town, he became entranced by the sense of community there. He liked Mansfield and its people, and he did not want them to lose their community feeling. His next school and community study was in the fundamentalist Christian setting of Bethany Baptist Church and Bethany Baptist Academy. While there, he did not feel moved to admire their sense of community because other subjective emotions were on high alert. He wrote:

I knew that I was annoyed by my personal (as opposed to research) experience at BBA. I soon became sharply aware that my annoyance was pervasively present, that I was writing out of pique and vexation. Accordingly, I was not celebrating community at Bethany, and community prevailed there no less robustly than it had at Mansfield. Why not? I was more than annoyed in Bethany; my ox had been gored. The consequence was that the story I was feeling drawn to tell had its origins in my personal sense of threat. I was not at Bethany as a cool, dispassionate observer (are there any?); I was there as a Jew whose otherness was dramatized directly and indirectly during 18 months of fieldwork. (p. 103)

As Peshkin entered his next school and community study in urban Riverview, where he planned to learn how ethnicity operated in the lives of students and parents in the school and community, he resolved to look for instances of his own subjectivity, noting feeling and circumstances. He incorporated his reflections into what he described as a set of “subjective I’s.” As in Mansfield, the “Community–Maintenance I” was present, but the Riverview research situation called forth emotional states that previous studies had not, such as his “Pedagogical–Meliorist I”:

This . . . is a defensive self. It is directed toward students, generally minorities, whom I observed getting nowhere in their classrooms. They were being taught by teachers who had not learned enough, often did not care enough, to make a difference in their students’ lives. Class time for both students and teachers was an occasion for little more than marking time until the bell released both from their meaningless engagement. This circumstance, regrettably common, disturbed me more than I had ever been disturbed by the ineffective teachers I had observed at other schools. The difference at Riverview High School was that the students in such classes were usually minorities, those who came to school with two strikes against them. I found myself doing what I never before had done as I sat in the back of classrooms: hatching schemes that would alter the classrooms I was watching, schemes that were calculated to reorient instruction and make a difference in the lives of the students. (p. 105)

Tracing your subjective selves or *subjective I’s*, as Peshkin describes them, shows points on a map of yourself. These points do not create a complete map because no research evokes all of your strong emotions and positions. Some perspectives surely will appear again in other studies; just as surely, new ones also will appear. And most likely, no two people doing the same study would have the same personal responses. Many educators and social service professionals, however, do identify a “Justice I” and a “Caring I,” as Lorrie did in her research on how physical therapists work with elders with dementia:

I view this topic through a *justice lens* and a *caring lens*. I have seen elders treated unfairly by healthcare providers; they don’t receive the same quality of treatment as younger people, even when they have the same problems. . . . The basis of my personal interest in geriatrics stems from my relationship with my grandmother and my observations of the care she received at the most vulnerable point in her life. She was treated very poorly by underqualified and undereducated staff in a local facility.

Keeping track of your subjective selves and then inquiring into their origins, as Peshkin and Laurie did, can make you aware not only of your own perspectives, but also how those perspectives might lead you to ask certain questions (and not others) and to make certain interpretations (and not others) of interactions within the research setting. Scheper-Hughes (2001) states that “the question often posed . . . about the dangers of ‘losing one’s objectivity’ in the field is really quite beside the point. Our task requires of us only a highly disciplined subjectivity” (p. 318).

What subjectivities did Gauguin seek to explore through this self-portrait?

Paul Gauguin (French, 1848–1903), *Self-Portrait*, 1889, Chester Dale Collection, The National Gallery of Art.



A highly disciplined subjectivity means being attuned to your personal views, perspectives, and emotions through writing about them in your field journal. Instead of suppressing feelings, you use them to inquire into your assumptions and to shape new questions through reexamining previous perspectives (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). For example, Tsing (1993) reports how she learned from emotions that flared when a research participant suggested that she did not work:

Once Ma Salam's mother tried to flatter me by saying that I didn't work (*bagawi*) but only "traveled" (*bajalan*). My first thought was to take offense and argue for my industriousness; in the United States, to do no work is to be worthless. But I soon realized my mistake: for Meratus to "work" is to do repetitive caretaking activity, while to "travel" is a process of personal and material enrichment. (p. 68)

When you feel angry, irritable, gleeful, excited, or sad, you can be sure that your personal views are at work. The goal is to explore such feelings in order to become aware of what they are telling you about who you are in relationship to reactions and interactions with research participants and in relationship to what you are learning or keeping yourself from perceiving. Wincup (2001) describes how, during analysis and writing, she made use of emotions evoked by her research with women awaiting trial:

Gradually, I began to realize that my own emotions could be used constructively to enhance the research without compromising the ability to step back and offer analysis and interpretation. Reliving my fieldwork experiences brought my data alive. My emotional awareness encouraged me to listen more closely to the accounts of the women I interviewed, and to think carefully about the ways I could do justice to the women's stories as I created my ethnographic account. (p. 29)

By reflecting on how your research is autobiographical, you can become aware also of how your personal history is engaged by your research. When I ask students to do this, I stress that I don't want their life story, but I want to know how their research topic intersects with their life: What does their approach to research say about them, and why is their research statement, of all the research statements they could pose, of interest to them?

Kristina, whose interview questions were discussed in Chapter 4, planned to interview women from Africa about their perspectives on women's legal rights related to marriage, divorce, and property. At first, she thought she had chosen her topic because she was moving with her husband to East Africa for several years and wanted to use her thesis requirement as an opportunity to learn something about the lives of African women. As she considered how her topic was autobiographical, however, she uncovered deeper roots to her choice:

My interest in women's rights began in ninth grade with a talk by a women's rights activist that I attended with my mother. . . . Until that evening, I had believed that discrimination against women was part of the past. I distinctly remember my mother saying to me, "You think that there aren't any more barriers for women, but you'll see." Her statement caught me off guard. I was a successful student; I was planning on going to a competitive college and pursuing a career in law or business. But I began to pay more attention to women's issues, especially those that highlighted inequalities between men and women.

My parents' divorce a year after this event dramatically shaped my ideas about women and marriage forever. They had been married for twenty years, and while both of my parents struggled after the divorce, my father recovered much more quickly, both financially and emotionally. My mother had somehow invested more of herself in the marriage and at the end found herself bankrupt, with fewer resources to help her start her life over. I think the unequal responsibilities between my parents (Mom being primarily responsible for me, my brother, and the house), as well as her limited work experience, made it more difficult for her to create a new life. Since this time, I have been acutely aware of the increased burdens women generally carry in many family situations, and I think this awareness has helped me to focus my interests on African women's legal rights around marriage, divorce, and property.

By understanding the ways in which her topic was autobiographical, Kristina became more aware of her own attitudes toward and emotional investment in issues of marriage, divorce, property, and women's rights as she began her research with African women.

When you track your emotions, you learn more about your own values, attitudes, beliefs, interests, and needs. You learn that your history and experiences are the basis for your behaviors and interpretations and thus for the story that you are able to tell. They are the strengths on which you build. They make you who you are as a person and as a researcher, equipping you with the perspectives and insights that shape what you do as a researcher, from the selection of topic to what you emphasize when you write up the study. By recognizing and naming them, you can more easily open yourself to other values, attitudes, beliefs, interests, and needs.

Mark describes how tracking his emotions helped him to see in new ways. He was researching attitudes of officers in corrective facilities toward the schooling of their wards:

The most unexpected event during the research process was that I changed my mind. Several field log entries identified my judgmental stance regarding officers. I recognized that I must be cognizant of this. . . . I reminded myself that during this research I am not a reformer. What surprises me now is that I have come to respect more what the officers do in their day-to-day routines in the cellblocks. By their sharing their thoughts and experiences with me, I have been informed, and consequently reformed. In their own way, they are also involved in helping a rather difficult clientele overcome massive barriers and become better people. I am delighted.

Although it is not possible to be complete in documenting your values, emotions, and perspectives, you can become tuned in to the emotions generated in particular research situations. You can inquire into, reflect upon, and responsibly convey those emotions to the readers of your work, so that they better understand the ground you stand on and how and why your interpretations were formed. Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997a) points out that researchers articulate their stances, perspectives, and biases not to sway the audience into the same position but to “[allow] the reader to entertain a contrasting view” (p. 50).

Identities and Positionings

Feminist, critical, and poststructural scholars have deepened and extended the concept of subjectivity. They have illuminated the complex and shifting intersections of **identity categories** such as race, gender, age, and physical abilities that may come into play during research. In some research situations, a person’s gender may be significant; in others, one’s age. The interaction of your identities with identities of others is always in flux.

Identity categories, therefore, should not be viewed as having an essential meaning, as being true everywhere for all people, or as being solely responsible for particular actions or reactions. Rather, they interact with other attributes, histories, and contexts of a person, referred to sometimes as *inhabited positions*. Types of inhabited positions include *ascribed* characteristics or personal aspects over which one has no or little control, such as ancestry or nationality; personal characteristics that are *achieved*, such as educational level, economic level, or institutional affiliation; and *subjective* positions or aspects of your life history and personal

experiences that help to form your values (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2002). Coming of age during the Civil Rights Movement could be a subjective position that is an important part of how you see the world, no matter what your skin color. Yet, most likely, this subjective position would interrelate with skin color in very different ways. Thus, identity categories and positions interact in how you both portray yourself and are perceived by others.

In any inquiry study, researchers have little control over identity categories (age, race, gender, etc.) and limited control over their positions, although some positions, such as nationality or educational level, could be—unethically—misrepresented or not disclosed. They can, however, make choices that affect their **positionality**, defined by Hay (2005) as the researcher's "social, locational, and ideological placement relative to the research project or to other participants in it" (p. 290). For example, entering into research with a mind-set of openness and a desire to interact in collaborative ways is likely to result in a different positionality than one in which the researcher maintains a mind-set of entitlement and control.

"Positionality requires that we direct our attention beyond our individual or *subjective* selves," states Madison (2012, p. 10). Being attuned to positionality is being attuned to **intersubjectivity**, or to how the subjectivities of all who are involved guide the research process, the content, and, possibly, the interpretations. As Myerhoff (1979) indicates in the following quote, her observations and interviews with Jewish elders activated emotions within her participants that, in turn, shaped her behavior and theirs:

The old people were genuinely proud of me, generous, and affectionate, but at times their resentment spilled over. My presence was a continual reminder of many painful facts: that it should have been their own children there listening to their stories; that I had combined family and a career, opportunities that the women had longed for and never been allowed. (pp. 26–27)

In another example, Lather and Smithies (1997) observed HIV / AIDS support groups and conducted interviews with women in the groups. Their work, which spanned several years, became important to many of the participants. One respondent asked bluntly, "When are you guys going to publish? Some of us are on deadline, you know" (p. 169). Lather, Smithies, and the women living with HIV / AIDS formed relationships, laughed, cried, and reexamined their lives through the project. And the women's urgency to get their story told pushed Lather and Smithies to desktop-publish an early version of their book, *Troubling the Angels* (1997).

How you position yourself and your interpretations within the text is yet another positioning, a *textual positioning* (Madison, 2005). Are participants coming across as one-dimensional, perhaps as oppressed, powerless victims? Is your interpretation sometimes paternalistic? Does it romanticize, leading to the possibility that you have overlooked "deep-seated contradictions, detailed symbolic meanings and troubling questions" (Madison, 2005, p. 126)? The reflexive stance involves honestly and openly locating your subjectivities, identities, and positions engaged by the research, and reflecting upon how they interact with those of research

participants and with your observations and interpretations. The reflexive stance includes thinking critically about the inquiry throughout the research process—about how the research itself is a product of interactions among researcher, participants, and setting and all that each bring with them. For some, this means considering ways in which the research is trustworthy and how it could be more so.

Trustworthiness

“You must learn to sit with people,” he told me. “You must learn to sit and listen.”

(Stoller, 1989, p. 128)

Qualitative researchers tend to talk about the **trustworthiness** of a research project, rather than its *validity*. Lincoln and Guba (1985) were at the forefront of pointing out that the validity criteria associated with empirical research are inappropriate for interpretive inquiry. They suggested strategies to get at a study’s *trustworthiness* instead and proposed credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as constructs to help assess a study’s trustworthiness. These constructs parallel ones used in quantitative research (internal validity, external validity, reliability, and generalizability) but employ different strategies for different ends. As briefly described in Chapter 2, some of the strategies proposed include prolonged engagement; persistent observation; triangulation or use of multiple methods, sites, and/or respondents; negative case analysis; debriefing with peers and supervisors, member checking on collected data and on interpretations; thick description; monitoring of subjectivity; and data and theory audit trails. You can find many depictions of these strategies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002), as well as discussions that critique or extend and augment them (Eisenhart, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

As novice researchers and their committees seek to define “good” and “poor” qualitative studies, the trustworthiness strategies assist in setting some standards. As with most standards, meeting each and every one of them will not guarantee a good or a useful study, but taking the strategies into consideration increases the likelihood that the study will be more than anecdotal. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) pose four questions that help integrate trustworthiness strategies with other aspects of reflexivity: “What do you notice? Why do you notice what you notice? How can you interpret what you notice? How can you know that your interpretation is the ‘right’ one?” (p. 55). This section focuses on the first three questions. Discussion of the fourth question occurs in Chapter 7.

What Do You Notice? The question “What do you notice?” suggests that when you notice one thing, you do not notice something else. Using more than one method for data collection and more than one type of respondent (**triangulation**) can contribute to eliciting more complex perspectives on an issue and to noticing more. As you design your research and then again during data collection, ask yourself questions like the following: Whom do I see? Whom do I not see? Whom have I seen less often? Where do I go? Where do I not go? Where have I gone less

often? With whom do I have special relationships? How do these relationships affect what I see and how I interpret phenomena? What data-collecting means have I not used that could provide additional insight?

Consciously and continuously searching for *negative cases*—those cases that do not support the general pattern—can help you to discover points of view you may be missing or ignoring. As you collect and analyze data, you will begin to see patterns. It can be exciting when an interviewee tells you something that appears to confirm a pattern you have identified. Nonetheless, it is important to ask yourself, “Okay, this is what I see happening, but do I have any examples of when that does not happen or takes place quite differently?” Such a search can provide new avenues of thought about the issues at hand as you seek to understand different conditions associated with outliers.

Taking thick, rich descriptive notes helps you to notice more and makes you conscious of what you notice. Then, through descriptions from observations and words from interviewees, the **thick description** allows readers to understand the basis for the claims you make. Ideally, you provide enough thick description that the reader can see a possible way to interpret things differently. Thick description is predicated on *prolonged engagement* (spending sufficient time at your research site) in the field and on *persistent observations* (focusing over time on elements most relevant to the study). Brief and one-time observations do not result in thick descriptions. Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997c) states that the researcher’s task is one of “capturing the essence and resonance of the actors’ experience and perspective through the details of action and thought revealed in context” (p. 12). Rather than the goal of making generalizations about social behavior, the qualitative researcher seeks to provide enough detail and description that readers can enter into the work and find resonance with their own lives or develop empathy for and new understandings about the lives of others.

Why Do You Notice What You Notice? The question “Why do you notice what you notice?” indicates the need to reflect upon your *subjectivity* and *positionalities* within the research context. Reflect upon how your theoretical perspectives, values, and commitments lead you to behave and interpret in particular ways. How is what you notice shaped by *intersubjectivity* or the research setting and participants in their reactions to you? What is it that research participants want you to see and why?

You could also talk with peers and supervisors about your beginning thoughts and interpretations (*debriefing with peers*). Check out your interpretations with research participants (*member checks*). Enlist others to assist in your interpretations, and encourage them to feel comfortable in sharing perspectives different from yours.

How Can You Interpret What You Notice? Time is an important aspect of interpretation. *Prolonged engagement* and *persistent observation* are critical to your interpretations. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) state, “If prolonged engagement provides scope, persistent observation provides depth” (p. 304). Time observing,

participating, conversing, and building sound relationships all contribute to data that are more trustworthy.

When you monitor your subjectivities and constantly challenge your assumptions, you are likely to realize moments when you project your identities and social positionings (e.g., working class, heterosexual) onto others. You are then ready to hear viewpoints that differ and to interpret what you are seeing and hearing from different perspectives.

Transformational Validity. You may, however, want to take a different approach to the issues of trustworthiness and rigor than that described in the previous discussion. Some critical and postmodern researchers suggest that instead of strategies for trustworthiness, scholars should focus on *transformational validity*. At its core, transformational validity asks whether or not the inquiry “advances a social agenda or offers cultural criticism” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 311). Eisenhart (2006) discusses four ways in which transformational validity may be approached:

1. *Deconstruction.* Researchers go deeper into their subjectivities and biases and analyze their backgrounds and agendas, including how they are writing up their work “in light of well-known ‘rhetorical, political, institutional, and disciplinary conventions’ of persuasion” (p. 577).
2. *Moral Commitments.* Researchers get involved only in research to which they can make moral commitments, that is, a goal of “righting specific social wrongs” (p. 577), and researchers are explicit about these commitments.
3. *Multiple Perspectives.* Postmodernists “argue that representations constructed by researchers have no more claim to accuracy, authenticity, or comprehensiveness than anyone else’s” (p. 578). Therefore, any issue in the study is addressed through multiple perspectives, which may mean having “final representations constructed by many different people” (p. 578).
4. *Catalyst for Political Action.* Although both positivist and interpretive researchers value trustworthy representations primarily for their contribution to understanding social phenomena, critical researchers and postmodernists value trustworthy representations for their potential to make an impression on readers and to be a catalyst for political actions that benefit oppressed groups” (p. 578).

Transformational validity does not replace the need to make a study rigorous and trustworthy in the ways previously described, but it does urge you to go beyond the research process and to ask questions of the purposes and outcomes of your proposed work. These are important issues to consider.

Asking Reflexive Questions

Patton (2002) provides a diagram titled “Reflexive Questions: Triangulated Inquiry” (p. 66). It suggests kinds of reflexive questions researchers could ask of themselves, of research participants, and of the audience. Figure 5.1 draws from and expands upon Patton’s diagram.

INQUIRER	PARTICIPANTS	AUDIENCE
• What philosophical beliefs do I hold about doing research, and how do they guide me to do this kind of research? • How does this topic link autobiographically to me? • What values and experiences shape my perspectives and my research decisions? • How did each particular person who is in the study get selected? • Why did I form the particular interview questions I use? • Why do I observe where I observe? • What kind of relationships have I developed with research participants and why? • What kinds of relationships do I desire and for what purposes? • What have become important analytical themes and why these themes? • As I analyze and interpret the data, what do I choose to include and what do I choose to omit and why? • What do I think I know and how did I come to know it? • With what voice do I share my perspectives? • How much do I inscribe myself into the text and how do I present myself when I do? • What do I do with what I have learned? • What are the consequences of my choices?	• How do they know what they know? • What has shaped their worldviews? • How do they perceive me? Why? How do I know? • What stories do they tell about me? • What stories do they tell others of the research process? • How do/would they respond to what I am writing?	• How do they make sense of what I present to them? • What perspectives do they bring to my presentations? • How do they perceive me? Based on what? • How do I perceive them? • How do these perceptions affect what I say and how I say it?

FIGURE 5.1 Questions That Assist in Reflexivity

The questions in Figure 5.1 are guides for issues you may want to address in your field notes. Most likely, neither you nor the readers of your final report would want to dwell upon answers to each question. At the least, however, you need to provide background for the decisions you make so that readers can better understand—and question—the interpretations you make. You need to demonstrate clearly your own theoretical standpoints and belief systems and how they link to the interpretations you make. Reflexivity challenges your ability to ever *know* the other. Perhaps a more attainable goal is to uncover the multiple selves that interrelate within the research process and to link them with your interpretations. As Emerson et al. (1995) state, “*What the ethnographer finds out is inherently connected with how she finds it out*” (p. 11).

SO WHAT?

Why is so much attention focused on field relations and reflexivity? What if you just want to get on with the business of doing research? Why engage in what some have described as potentially devolving into *navel gazing*? Sultana (2007), a Bangladeshi researcher, states of her fieldwork on water resources management, “I do not believe that being reflexive about one’s own positionality is to self-indulge but to reflect on how one is inserted in grids of power relations and how that influences methods, interpretations, and knowledge production” (p. 376). Reflexive thought assists in understanding ways in which your personal characteristics, values, and positions interact with others in the research situation to influence the methodological approach you choose, the methods you use, and the interpretations you make. Reflexivity forces you to think more about how you want to be in relation to research participants. It can help you make use of personal passions and strengths while better understanding the ways in which the knowledge you produce is co-constructed and only partial. Ultimately, thoughtfulness about and critical engagement with the personal dimensions of research leads to more ethical work, the topic of Chapter 6.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2), 175–196.

EXERCISES

1. Reflect upon the nature of the optimal research relationships in your study. What implications do such relationships have for developing and maintaining rapport? For developing and maintaining trust?

2. Write a few pages in your field journal about the ways in which your research topic is autobiographical. Think deeply about this: Of all possible research questions, why did you choose the research questions that you did? What do those questions say about you?
3. Reading ethnographies is a good way to expand your thinking about doing and writing up fieldwork. In this activity, divide into groups of four or five, with each group taking a different ethnography to read. Plan to meet several times to discuss specific aspects of the book (you could also do periodic in-class reports). You might, for example, focus one discussion group on how the author incorporates observations and interviews into the text and another discussion group on the overall organization of the ethnography. Using this chapter's topics, reflect upon how the researchers position themselves in the work. What do you learn about the author? What do you learn about field relations? What other things would you like to know? Why?

ENDNOTE

1. Peshkin's reflections on subjectivity that are presented here are taken from the first edition of *Becoming Qualitative Researchers* (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) and drawn from Peshkin (1982b, 1988a, 1988b).

CHAPTER 6

But Is It Ethical? Considering What Is “Right”

As a group of students entered their second semester together in a qualitative research methods class, they reflected on the role trial and error had played in their best-learned lessons. Ernie wondered, “Can you even consider the possibility of learning research ethics through trial and error?” With increased awareness of ethical issues, they deliberated over perceived ethical dilemmas and wondered about unintended consequences of their work.

This group of students realized that ethical considerations should accompany plans, thoughts, and discussions about each aspect of qualitative research. Ethics is not something that you can forget once you satisfy the demands of university ethics committees and other gatekeepers of research conduct. Nor is it “merely a matter of isolated choices in crucial situations” (Cassell & Jacobs, 1987, p. 1). Rather, ethical considerations are inseparable from your everyday interactions with research participants and with your data.

Research purposes themselves can be perceived as an ethical issue, with some asserting that intentions must go beyond bestowing “hope” for future contributions, and glossing over “abuses of power and human need in the present” (Christians, 2000, p. 144). Maori scholar and activist Tuhiwai Smith (1999) observes that research “has traditionally benefited the researcher, and the knowledge base of the dominant group in society” (p. 176) and argues that, ethically, research purposes and processes should be constantly negotiated with research participants. It follows that choosing your topic and designing your methods can be perceived as an ethical issue. What you research and how you design the inquiry relate to both your philosophical and your ethical stance on the purpose and nature of research.

Ethical dilemmas are not, of course, peculiar to qualitative inquiry. Guidelines for ethical conduct grew out of medical and other types of invasive research. Different epistemological systems, however, present different ethical concerns (Lincoln, 1990; Scott, 1996). Postempiricist inquiry emphasizes separation between researchers and researched while, in most interpretive research, researchers constantly interact with research participants. A range of ethical concerns accompanies these interactions. A greater distance between researcher and participants, though, does not make a study more conducive to meeting ethical standards.

Indeed, a neutral, noninteractive stance, in itself, can be construed as an ethical issue because it may indicate objectification of others. The closeness of field relationships in qualitative inquiry, nevertheless, raises a number of potential ethical issues and is often the focus of ethical discussions in qualitative research.

This chapter introduces the context for the creation of codes for research ethics, describes their intent, and focuses on ethical matters that arise out of the researcher–researched relationship in qualitative inquiry. It does not discuss ethical issues that apply to all types of research, such as falsifying results or publishing without crediting coresearchers. As in previous chapters, unequivocal advice on “right” or “wrong” ways to behave is difficult to provide. Rather, the issues raised here are meant to alert you to areas that need consideration and forethought, so that you can avoid learning ethical lessons after the fact.

RESPECT, BENEFICENCE, AND JUSTICE

Nazi concentration camps and the atomic bomb served to undermine the image of science as value-free and automatically contributing to human welfare (Diener & Crandall, 1978). Medical research in the United States that resulted in physical harm to subjects (such as the Tuskegee syphilis study) and social science research that caused, at the least, psychological pain (such as the Milgram shock experiment) led to the formation of codes of ethics by different professional organizations and academic institutions in the 1970s. In 1979, the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research published the *Belmont Report*. This report established three ethical principles for research involving humans: respect, beneficence, and justice.

The principle of respect emphasizes that people should participate in research through voluntary and informed consent, and that those with “diminished autonomy” to give their consent should be protected (*Belmont Report*, 1979). Voluntary, informed consent neither precludes the abuse of research findings nor creates a symmetrical relationship between researchers and researched, but it does invest research participants with control over their involvement in the inquiry.

The second principle, beneficence, “is an obligation that has been expressed in two (inconsistent) basic rules: Do no harm, and maximize possible benefits and minimize possible harm” (Strike, 2006, p. 69). The beneficence principle developed, in part, because of invasive medical research and drug trials. When applied to qualitative inquiry, the beneficence principle tends to focus on ensuring that interviewers do not ask questions of such a sensitive nature that they could cause emotional distress, and on protecting participants’ rights to privacy so that what they do and say, as recorded by the researcher, does not bring about harm.

The third principle of the *Belmont Report*, justice, focuses on the equitable sharing of research benefits and burdens. It “places special emphasis on avoiding cases where populations who are vulnerable are employed as subjects in research that primarily benefits others or where the class of those who will benefit is much broader than the class from which subjects are selected” (Strike, 2006, p. 69). In

other words, research such as that in the Tuskegee study would never happen again. This study took place over forty years. In it, the selection of subjects was based on race (African American), class (impoverished sharecroppers in Alabama), and gender (male). Results from this study of the effects of syphilis were for the "greater good," at the expense of the subjects who participated, uninformed that the purpose of the study was to document the progression of the disease over time. When penicillin was found to be an effective cure, study participants were left uninformed of the cure and untreated.

The following sections discuss how the principles of respect, beneficence, and justice are applied in qualitative inquiry, as well as some of the quandaries that ensue.

The Principle of Respect: Informed and Voluntary Consent

Most qualitative researchers would agree that potential research participants should be informed about the research purposes, the procedures, and the expected ways of sharing the research results, and that their participation should be voluntary. This sounds straightforward and do-able. The evolving aspects and contextual nature of qualitative inquiry, however, complicate informed and voluntary consent in three specific ways.

First, qualitative researchers question the appropriateness of *written* consent forms in some situations. Ethics boards accept that oral rather than written consent should be obtained when the very record left by consent papers could put individuals' safety at risk if discussing sensitive topics (e.g., crime, sexual behavior, drug use). In general, however, signed consent forms are an expected part of ethics board requirements. Participants in the United States tend to be familiar with and readily accept the use of consent forms in most psychological and educational research, as well as in any research involving children. In a number of cross-cultural situations, however, consent forms are seen as part of a bureaucratic tracking system. With a heritage of loss through signing names, many who have been oppressed, dominated, or colonized are understandably mistrustful of forms, especially those requiring signatures.

Van den Hoonaard and van den Hoonaard (2013) suggest that rather than preparing consent forms for research participants to sign, it makes more sense for qualitative researchers to prepare an information sheet regarding the project and the promises that are being made, to give it to participants, and to sign it themselves "because it is the researcher making the promise" (p. 53). When research becomes collaborative, then cooperation, active assistance, and collegiality may exceed the demands of informed consent (Diener & Crandall, 1978; Wax, 1982). Indeed, in qualitative inquiry, cooperation and partnership may be more relevant to the ethical assessment of consent than whether or not consent forms were signed.

Second, qualitative research plans change, particularly in long-term studies, rendering the standard one-time consent at the beginning of the project potentially problematic. Margaret Mead once said, "Anthropological research does not have subjects. We work with informants in an atmosphere of mutual respect" (quoted in Diener & Crandall, 1978, p. 52). Although Mead's statement expresses

the ideal, field relationships continually undergo informal renegotiation as respect, interest, and acceptance grow or wane for both researcher and participant. As relationships develop, researchers may be invited to participate in ways they may have hoped for but could not have expected in the beginning, such as secret ceremonies or executive golfing rounds. As relationships develop, researchers also may want to inquire into new topics, observe in different venues, or incorporate other means of data production. In qualitative research, therefore, consent should be viewed as an ongoing process, but “to do so through a formal consent process, in most cases, could be quite confusing or feel too formal and legal to participants” (van den Hoonaard & van den Hoonaard, 2013, p. 35). You should be prepared to inform participants of any changes in your research goals and procedures and to ask for their assurances that you should continue.

Third, qualitative research projects frequently involve participant observation. Does that mean that everyone you observe must consent to your observations? Imagine you are interested in parents’ involvement in the community school, and your research has received the blessings of the local school, school board, and the parent-teacher association (PTA). As part of the research, you attend a high school football game, where you find yourself jotting in your fieldbook comments and interactions among parents. The game is a public event and exempt from informed-consent clauses, but you also note that some people around you look at you warily. Some researchers argue that observation in public places is permissible because people ordinarily watch and are watched by others in public places. Accordingly, social scientists should be able to observe as well. A counter is that when such observations are systematic, recorded, and analyzed, they no longer are ordinary and thereby violate rights of privacy. What if at the next PTA meeting, you pull out your notebook and then notice that some parents to whom you had not been previously introduced are present? Do you need to continually draw attention to yourself and the research by asking, “Is it okay to take notes?”

Informed consent indicates that you should disclose to potential participants all the information necessary for them to make intelligent decisions about participation. Yet doing so is difficult in qualitative research because at the beginning of the research, you may not be fully aware of what you are looking for or among whom or of the possible risks. “The researcher is in a perplexing situation,” states Erickson (1986). “He or she needs to have done an ethnography of the setting in order to anticipate the range of risks and other burdens that will be involved for those studied” (p. 141)

The Principle of Beneficence: Privacy

Recognize ourselves, indeed! I’ve gone on to memorize some of my best lines.

(respondent in Scheper-Hughes, 2001, p. xix)

As aspects of the beneficence principle, ethics boards look for potential risk of physical or emotional harm and at how participants’ privacy is protected. In reviewing qualitative studies, they put a primary emphasis on how the privacy of

participants will be protected and on appraising interview questions to assess their potential for causing emotional harm. That is, when research participants give you permission to observe and interview, you need to demonstrate how you will protect their confidences, preserve their anonymity, and not cause emotional distress.

As with informed consent, issues of privacy are not always clear-cut in qualitative research. Diener and Crandall (1978) describe a study in which researchers used both surveys and the contents of garbage bags to discover what people bought, discarded, and wasted in different sectors of Tucson, Arizona. The findings concluded that poor people waste less food than higher-income people, and that there is a marked discrepancy between self-reports on alcohol consumption and evidence from bottles and cans in the garbage. Although garbage content was not linked to particular households, the examined bags often included envelopes with names on them. Do such studies violate privacy rights?

You respect privacy and confidentiality throughout data collection by not discussing with anyone the specifics of what you see and hear. What do you do when the principal asks you what you are learning from her teachers? You might want to respond with something like the following:

I am really enjoying talking with your teachers. They seem to take both their jobs and my research seriously and are therefore helping me tremendously. It's too early yet to know what I can make of all the information I'm receiving, but a couple of themes have been emerging, and I'd like the opportunity to discuss them with you. Do you have the time?

Such a response leads away from particular individuals and toward the discussion of general concepts, thus respecting the principal's interest in your findings without violating any of your commitments to the teachers. Such discussions must balance your unqualified obligation to protect the teachers' privacy with your appreciation of the principal's natural interest in your findings.

You respect privacy and confidentiality after data collection and analysis through care as you write up the study. You use pseudonyms and sometimes change or omit descriptive characteristics if they create portraits of specific participants. Fictitious names do not necessarily protect participants, however, as demonstrated by two frequently cited cases: West's *Plainville, U.S.A.* (1945) and Vidich and Bensman's *Small Town in Mass Society* (1968). Despite made-up names, the towns were easily identified by descriptions of their characteristics and locations, and people in the towns easily recognized themselves in the depictions of individuals. In both cases, research participants were upset by the portrayals of the towns and their inhabitants. Scheper-Hughes (2001) remarks that “the time-honored practice of bestowing anonymity on our communities and informants fools few and protects none—save, perhaps, the anthropologist” (p. 12). Similarly, Plummer (1983) observes that although “confidentiality may appear to be a prerequisite of life history research, it frequently becomes an impossibility” (p. 142). He cites several examples: Fifty years after the original study, Shaw's (1930/1966) research participant Jack Roller was located for reinterview, and after a month of detective work, a reporter tracked down Oscar Lewis's *Children of Sanchez* (1963).

These examples illustrate the link between protecting privacy and doing no harm. Although no harm may be done during the research process, harm may result from making research findings public. In publishing findings, the researcher needs to consider how the report could potentially affect both the individual and the community. If specific information about an individual were released, would it cause him or her pain? If collective information about a community were published, would it harm the community's reputation or social standing? Even if respondents tend to agree that some aspect of their community is unflattering, should the researcher make this information public? In qualitative inquiry, the nature of field relationships and the responsibility to those relationships can become, and perhaps should be, more important ethical standards than merely protecting privacy. Scheper-Hughes (2001) reflects on how the use of anonymity allows us to "forget that we owe our anthropological subjects the same degree of courtesy, empathy, and friendship in writing that we generally extend to them face to face in the field" (pp. 12–13).

Despite justified worry about protecting privacy, researchers may also have to deal with anonymity declined. Jacobs (1987) tells of an anthropologist who wrote about a community in Melanesia; she disguised villagers and their location through use of pseudonyms. Three years later, she returned to the field to distribute copies of her manuscript to those who had been most helpful and to ask permission to conduct further study. People liked the book and felt the accounts were correct, but they told her that she had got the name of the village wrong and the names of the individuals wrong. They told her to be more accurate in the next book.

In another case of anonymity declined, an applied medical anthropologist worked for three years in an urban African American community. Before she published her articles, she asked community members to read, comment on, and criticize them. They complimented her on her interpretations but questioned her use of pseudonyms for the town, the health center, and the individuals who "struggle to improve the healthcare for our people" (quoted in Jacobs, 1987, p. 26). The anthropologist explained the reasons for privacy conventions and how disclosing names could result in possible harm. In the end, she omitted the actual name of the center and its location, but she acknowledged the names of staff members in footnotes. This decision was made collaboratively.

The emphasis on privacy may, in itself, reflect a Western bias. In some countries, such as Tanzania, the prevailing expectation for research projects is that the names of interviewees will be published in an appendix, and "to deviate from this procedure may be perceived as either confusing or arrogant" (Ryen, 2007, p. 221). Supporting this perspective is the argument that the "cloak of anonymity" (van den Hoonaard & van den Hoonaard, 2013, p. 34) serves the researcher. It shines the spotlight of attention on researchers and makes their claims less easy to challenge. As Gubrium and Harper (2013) observe, academics and policymakers seek to get their own names out in the public arena as knowledge producers through presentations and publications. Why should they be able to do so "while the names and faces of research participants are expected to be shielded? . . . How does this expectation continue to keep their voices hidden or silenced?" (p. 51).

Obviously, no one answer exists for this dilemma. If research deals with sensitive issues in which statements of participants conflict with perspectives of people in positions of power, then careful attention must be paid to issues of privacy and anonymity. In collaborative and action research, however, issues of privacy make less sense.

Privacy, Consent, and the Internet.

One could argue that we are entering an era that is witnessing the end to privacy.

(van den Hoonaard & van den Hoonaard, 2013, p. 125)

The Internet makes it relatively easy to gather data from a widespread population and to easily share interpretations with and receive feedback from participants. Researchers using computer-mediated communications, however, often confront ethical issues related to both consent and privacy (Mann & Stewart, 2000; Robson & Robson, 2002).

One problem is that contexts are neither private nor public but somewhere on a kind of continuum between private and public (Elm, 2009). For example, if you were to observe an online community, should it be considered a public venue and exempt from informed consent? If you pose a question in an open chat room or on a blog, should consent be obtained before you can use the responses as data? If you decide to declare your research and ask for consent to use information from postings, then how do you do so, since participation can be sporadic and can change frequently?

It is also difficult to promise confidentiality in Internet communications, particularly to users of chat groups and other social media platforms. You can use pseudonyms in your published text, but that does not necessarily protect the identity of those quoted. For example, if you were interested in perspectives and strategies of parents with children diagnosed with autism and had found a blog site that was particularly active, you might choose a few contrasting quotations from the blog for your report. You could give a pseudonym to each blogger whose words you were using, but the person's name could be found through a search for the quotation. In some Internet groups, participants choose pseudonyms, yet “even the mention of that moniker outside that closed circle is equivalent to betraying a trust, and it should be treated as a real name” (van den Hoonaard & van den Hoonaard, 2013, p. 64).

Not using a moniker outside a specific Internet group is an example of a growing set of ethical codes. If making use of Internet and social media sites in your research, you need to pay attention to ethical codes for doing social science research and also to the codes of conduct, or *netiquette*, developed by online communities (Robson & Robson, 2002). The Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (CPSR) has produced a set of privacy guidelines that include the need for individuals to be made aware of any collection of personal information and of how the information will be used. The Association of Internet Researchers (2012) also has created ethical guidelines for Internet research.

Technology changes quickly and the Internet context is so varied that ethical questions and guidelines regarding its use will change continuously. For example, some qualitative data analysis software currently stores data and project files on the Web, rather than on computer hard drives. This kind of storage can be more secure than risking losing data through a computer crash or theft, but it opens up a new area in the risk of unauthorized access to data. Other privacy and consent issues arise with the increased potential for archiving all aspects of research and making observation notes, interview audiotapes, and other kinds of data widely available through the Internet. Consent may be obtained for the current use of research data, but can consent be given for some unknowable future use by someone the participant will never meet? These kinds of quandaries make it imperative that researchers carefully consider not only ethical guidelines but also the current and future ethical treatment of participants in the context of particular studies (Baym & Markham, 2009).

Privacy, Consent, and Visual Research. Forms of visual research raise yet other ethical considerations of privacy and consent. Mitchell (2011) provides an example. She was working with graduate students on a community-based visual study in which children were taking photos of “feeling safe” and “feeling not so safe.” An eleven-year-old took a photo of a pair of slippers and explained that her stepfather hit her with the slippers and it made her scared. Mitchell (2011) describes the complexity of this situation:

On the one hand, had the picture (with or without the name of the photographer) been included in the local photo exhibition it would have exposed the behavior of her stepfather, and if viewed by the stepfather could potentially put the girl in a vulnerable position in her home. On the other hand, the photos raised the possibility that the girl may need protection. (p. 28)

To protect privacy, researchers often choose photographs for reports or presentations that focus on places or artifacts, rather than people. Even this choice can be problematic, as seen in this example.

In photovoice or community-based visual research, the members of a community are the image producers. The implication is that each participant needs to learn about ethical issues regarding the production and use of the photographs. Sessions on ethics are included in workshops designed to prepare participants for visually based work. Gubrium and Harper (2013) provide some questions meant to elicit conversations in workshops on ethical issues associated with photography. Some of their questions are “What is an acceptable way to approach someone to take his/her picture?” “Should you take pictures of other people (for research) without their knowledge?” and “When might it be dangerous for you to take a photo?” (p. 52). Discussions of these questions and others are important if communities are to arrive at their own rules for visual engagement, some of which will be culturally or context-based. They are also good questions for any researchers using photography to reflect upon, whether or not they are involved in community-based visual research.

Whenever photography is used, the researcher/facilitator must make explicit in consent forms where the photos may appear (in a dissertation, in a journal article, on a website, at a conference presentation, etc.). They must also ask photographers if they want their names associated with their photographs and must inform them about the possible hazards and benefits of identifying themselves in this way. The use of visual data has associated risks; it also can assist participants or be used as a form of reciprocity. Schaeffer (1995), for example, got permission to take videos of people doing everyday things in Jamaica. He set up viewing sessions for participants and, if they desired, their families and friends. These viewings became popular and a vehicle for discussion, sharing, and learning from each other. Banks (2007) contrasts the gift of a researcher’s words to that of photographs or videos:

I suspect that there are few people who have been the subject of an academic research project who would be delighted to receive a copy of a professional peer-reviewed academic paper, still less actively request a copy from the author. Conversely, most people who have been filmed, photographed or videotaped as part of a visual research project are very pleased to receive copies, and some do indeed actively demand them. (p. 10)

With rapid changes in technology that allow ease in taking and disseminating images (smart phones, tablets, social media sites), planning for ethical issues associated with visual research is not easy. A number of articles, book chapters, and professional ethics standards, however, attempt to address visual research ethics. For example, you can download *Visual Ethics: Ethical Issues in Visual Research* by Wiles et al. (2008) from the National Centre for Research Methods website. It includes examples of consent forms and photo reproduction rights forms that are helpful if you are doing or including a visual component in your research. Mitchell’s text *Doing Visual Research* (2011) also provides examples of consent forms used in community-based visual research.

The Principle of Justice: The Vulnerable, Reciprocity, and Representation

Justice, in the *Belmont Report* (1979), is primarily addressed through emphasis on procedures that ensure fair selection of research participants, provide special attention to vulnerable subjects, and enable the sharing of benefits and burdens at the individual and societal levels. This means that subjects should not always be selected from one grouping of people, particularly if research results are apt to benefit one group over another, or if the risks are particularly high for research participants, while benefits would accrue to the greater population, as can be the case with drug trials and medical procedures. For example, if medical drug trials are carried out with a sampling of male college students, then the knowledge generated—suggested dose amounts, use, and possible side effects—would likely

be more appropriate for and of greater benefit to young males than females and the elderly. This case may not meet the guidelines for just research.

Giving special attention to vulnerable subjects is another part of the justice principle. Federal guidelines label various research populations as potentially *vulnerable*, including children and minors, people said to have intellectual disabilities, prisoners, those who are elderly, the terminally ill, and racial and ethnic minorities, among others. The intention of this provision is to protect groups of people who may not be able to competently give informed consent or who easily could feel coerced or obliged to consent. Research proposals that include potentially vulnerable groups of participants tend to go through a full committee review by ethics boards to assess what safeguards are needed and if they are in place.

Although federal guidelines and ethics boards classify certain groups as vulnerable with the intention of protecting them from stereotyping or mistreatment in research, labeling a whole group as vulnerable is problematic. It can serve to further stereotype groups as pointed out, for example, by the many who resist being labeled *disabled* or *handicapped*. Van den Hoonaard and van den Hoonaard (2013) suggest that it is not so much that the people are vulnerable, but that “they lead their lives in a context that could make them vulnerable” (p. 85), and that it is these *contexts* that need to be the focus of the research.

The categorization of groups of people as vulnerable makes their inclusion in research more difficult. This, in itself, is a kind of paradox. One of the main contributions of qualitative inquiry has been its ability to honor and give voice to groups who have been silenced, ignored, or dominated. Many of the same groups who have suffered historically from silencing are those labeled as potentially vulnerable. The labeling then results in maintaining the silencing by making it more difficult for qualitative researchers to observe, interact with, and interview members of these groups and to share their stories. By trying to “protect” certain groups, the rules may actually serve to exclude them and to keep dominant voices intact.

The *Belmont Report* established the principles of respect, beneficence, and justice to address real needs for ethical guidelines in empirical research. Although important considerations, the principles are sometimes difficult to integrate into other paradigms of investigation as indicated above. The emphasis on fair selection of participants is less applicable, as well, to a paradigm that does not seek to generalize its results. In general, qualitative researchers reflect upon the issue of justice in more complex ways than overseeing the selection of participants and implementing procedures for protecting certain groups. Considering forms of reciprocity and effects of representation are two ways in which justice in research is approached in qualitative inquiry.

Reciprocity. As people open up their lives to researchers—giving time, sharing intimate stories, and frequently including them in both public and private events and activities—qualitative researchers often become overjoyed with what they are

learning but worried by their perceived inability to adequately reciprocate. In my Caribbean work, I reflected:

Cultural thieving is what ethnographers do if their written product is limited in its benefits to the gatherer and, perhaps, his or her community. Also known as "data exportation" or "academic imperialism" (Hamnett & Porter, 1983, p. 65), the process is reminiscent of past archaeologists carrying stone, pottery, and golden artifacts away from "exotic" places of origin to the archaeologists' homeland for analysis and display. What is owed to the people observed is the question. Are the terms of trade more than glass beads? (Glesne, 1985, pp. 55–60)

In postempirical research, reciprocity is assumed to be a matter of monetarily rewarding research subjects for their time. Although participants in qualitative research sometimes receive payment, it is not customary. Reciprocating through money is complicated by the extended time involved and the nature of relationships developed. Qualitative researchers find a variety of ways to reciprocate, but whether what they give equals what they get is difficult, if not impossible, to determine.

Equivalency may be the wrong standard to use in judging the adequacy of your reciprocity. What can you do for those teachers who let you spend hours at the back of their classroom, or for those nurses who come to interview sessions week after week? Literally, their time is invaluable to you. Is there anything within your means to deliver that your research participants would perceive as invaluable to them? Probably not. Glazer (1982) defines *reciprocity* as "the exchange of favors and commitments, the building of a sense of mutual identification and feeling of community" (p. 50). When you keep lunch duty teachers company, assist participants in weeding their gardens, or speak to the local rotary club, you demonstrate that you have not cast yourself as an aloof outsider. You can buy coffee or lunch for your interviewees, bring snacks into the teacher's lounge at the school where you are observing, and follow up a series of interviews and observations with thank you notes. What you do have that generally is valued is the means to be grateful—to acknowledge the importance of their time, cooperation, and words, and to acknowledge your dependence upon what they have to offer.

The interviewing process itself provides an occasion for reciprocity. If your questions identify issues of importance to interviewees, then interviewees will invariably both enjoy and find useful their roles as information providers. By providing the opportunity to reflect on and voice answers to your questions, you may be helping respondents better understand some aspect of themselves or their organization.

The closer the relationship between researcher and research participants, the more specific are the obligations, expectations, and possibilities for reciprocity that emerge. For example, Cassell (1987) tells of an anthropologist who, during her initial fieldwork and successive summers, was accepted as granddaughter of an elderly Southwestern Native American couple. Their children and spouses treated her as a sister. One summer, when the anthropologist returned to the reservation, she learned that her "grandfather" showed signs of senility, was drinking heavily, and was hallucinating. His children and their spouses left soon after her arrival, saying that they had cared for him all year and that it was now her turn. Although



Reciprocity can take many forms. Here a student is helping members of the National Trust of Great Britain clear nonnative vegetation out of a coastal area. Consider ways in which you could reciprocate in your work.

his care took full time and her planned research work did not get done, the anthropologist felt she had no choice but to honor her “occasional kin” status. However, she also felt even more a part of the family and free to bring with her an emotionally and educationally challenged nephew the next summer. Her “kin” helped tremendously in dealing with him. In another example, biographer Rosengarten (1985) wrote about his work with Ned Cobb and the form of his reciprocity: “There was one special reason why Ned Cobb’s family agreed to busy itself with me, apart from the feelings between us. My work with Ned revived his will to live” (p. 113).

The process of doing qualitative research can contribute to raised expectations. When researchers spend days and months in a community or organization asking about problems and aspirations, they elicit voices of dissatisfaction and of yearnings. Their work may encourage people to expect that someone, finally, will alleviate their plight. If you plan to only write up and publish what you learn, then you must make that clear throughout the research. Through written and oral reports, however, qualitative researchers can convey reciprocity by making evident the conditions of injustice, struggle, and pain. Reciprocity may also include making explicit arrangements to share royalties from publications. Ethics involved in how research is represented and disseminated is the subject of the next section.

Representation. In 1982, Nancy Scheper-Hughes published *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics*, based on fieldwork in rural Ireland. In the late 1990s, her publisher decided to print a twentieth-anniversary edition of the book. This decision provided an occasion for Scheper-Hughes to return to the community where she had done her fieldwork. Her visit was “shorter and more traumatic

than expected" (Scheper-Hughes, 2001, p. xiii). In the preface, prologue, and epilogue to the 2001 edition, Scheper-Hughes dramatically lays out her story, fraught with reflections on ethical dilemmas and things she could have done differently. In general, Scheper-Hughes was not welcomed back to the village because of how she had represented it in the book, how she had omitted descriptions of the strengths of the village and its people. Perhaps too late for redemption, in the 2001 edition Scheper-Hughes wrote of what she might have said earlier but had not, and she reflected upon the stance she had taken in what she had presented. Ultimately, she asks, "To whose advantage or for whose good do we cast what is so often a critical gaze on the contradictions and paradoxes implicit in the character of human relations, institutions, and organizations?" (Scheper-Hughes, 2001, p. xvii).

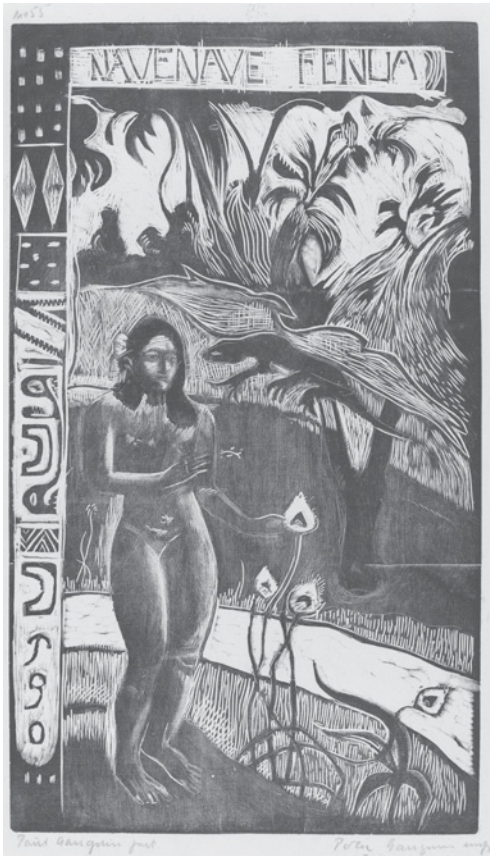
Scheper-Hughes's work exemplifies ethical issues associated with writing up research and making it public. We are reminded that what we share is only a partial representation and generally one of our choosing. It never tells the full story or provides all perspectives on an issue. The onus is upon us to be rigorous in our work and thoughtful in what we represent, considering the feelings and perspectives of those we represent and honoring their voices. Scheper-Hughes's reflections also reinforce the need for sharing with and obtaining feedback from research participants before something goes to press, and, if possible, for greater collaboration in all aspects of research.

In another example, Finch (1984) experienced a quandary over publishing data she collected through her study of playgroups. She found that child care standards differed among working- and middle-class women:

This evidence, I feared, could be used to reinforce the view that working-class women are inadequate and incompetent childrearers. Again, I felt that I was not willing to heap further insults upon women whose circumstances were far less privileged than my own, and indeed for a while, I felt quite unable to write *anything* about this aspect of the playground study. (p. 84)

Finch resolved her dilemma by distinguishing between the structural position in which the women were placed and their own experience with that position. This resolution enabled Finch to "see that evidence of women successfully accommodating to various structural features of their lives in no way alters the essentially exploitative character of the structures in which they are located" (p. 84). Thus, she described the child care practices of the working-class women in a way that would support them in an unfair and unequal society. Finch did not ignore or alter her data; she did not explain away the differences she uncovered. Her ethical sensitivity led her to think analytically about her data and to contextualize her findings, so that the behavior of the two groups of women was framed within the differential realities of their lives. Confronting the ethical dilemma resulted in more effective interpretation.

Research represented in artful ways (e.g., drama, short stories, poems, videos) can be, sometimes, a form of reciprocity as well. In arts-based representations,



How do visual representations create different responses in viewers? Does this one by Gauguin create empathy or distance? Does it reinforce certain stereotypes or cause you to look at something anew? Does it employ cultural codes of ethnicity, race, gender, or class? Whose cultural codes? All these are ethical questions.

Paul Gauguin (French, 1848–1903), Nave Nave Fenua (Delightful Land), 1884/1885 (woodcut printed in black and gray by Pola Gauguin in 1921), Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art.

participants’ words and images are more likely—than in academic publications—to be produced for and seen by research participants. This approach can, however, create other ethical dilemmas. Watching a play about family members who are placed in institutions, for example, could be quite distressful to the respondents whose stories provided data for the depictions. A general guideline used by arts-based researchers is that research participants should read, observe, or engage with the art and discuss it as a representation of some aspect of their lives before it goes to a wider public. Chapter 9 discusses arts-based research and representation in more detail.

ETHICAL CODES

In the 1970s, the federal government mandated the establishment of Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) at all colleges and universities that accepted federal funding for research involving human subjects. The charge of IRBs is to review all studies proposed at their institution that involve human subjects and to ensure that

research participants are protected and treated ethically. Other countries have established similar groups (e.g., the University Ethics Committees in Britain, the Human Research Ethics Committees in Australia, and the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics in Canada). Five basic guidelines, drawn from the principles of respect, beneficence, and justice, inform the decisions of IRBs when reviewing applicants' research proposals:

1. Research subjects must have sufficient information to make informed decisions about participating in a study.
2. Research subjects must be able to withdraw from a study, without penalty, at any point.
3. All unnecessary risks to a research subject must be eliminated.
4. Benefits to the subject or society, preferably to both, must outweigh all potential risks.
5. Only qualified investigators should conduct experiments.

In addition to the IRBs, professional groups have created and continually update codes of ethics specifically tailored for research and professional conduct in their disciplines. You can search the Internet for ethical principles and codes of conduct developed by the American Sociological Association, the American Counseling Association, the American Psychological Association, and the Society of Professional Journalists, to name just a few in the United States. Similarities abound among the various ethical codes, but differences reflect the work, values, and emphases of each association. For example, the ethical guidelines adopted by the American Anthropological Association (AAA) address issues that ethnographic researchers in particular face.

The AAA Code of Ethics has evolved through several iterations, being most recently amended and adopted by the AAA membership in 2012. Figure 6.1 includes selections from the AAA's thirteen-page statement and focuses upon researchers' responsibilities to people and animals with whom they work and whose lives and cultures they study. The AAA Code of Ethics includes directives on the researcher's responsibilities to scholarship, the public, employees, students and trainees, and to applied work. Many of the principles are general and open to interpretation; nonetheless, they provide a framework for reflection on fieldwork and sensitization to areas that require thoughtful decisions.

Some professional organizations have worked to make their philosophical assumptions an explicit part of their ethical codes. For example, the Sociological Association of Aotearoa (New Zealand) has a code of ethics that, like others, focuses on ethical issues in research as well as in teaching, publishing, and professional conduct. This code, however, critically situates the social and political context of its ethical principles. For example, it includes explicit statements like the following: “The social world is plural, contradictory and conflictual. It is hard to establish that there exists a singular, non-contradictory ‘public good’”; “Sociologists should recognise research as not neutral and should make explicit their

1. **Do No Harm.** . . . It is imperative that, before any anthropological work be Undertaken . . . each researcher think through the possible ways that the research might cause harm. . . . Among the most serious harms that anthropologists should seek to avoid are harm to dignity, and to bodily and material well-being, especially when research is conducted among vulnerable populations. Anthropologists should . . . also weigh carefully the potential consequences and inadvertent impacts of their work. When it conflicts with other responsibilities, this primary obligation can supersede the goal of seeking new knowledge and can lead to decisions to not undertake or to discontinue a project. . . .
2. **Be Open and Honest Regarding Your Work.** Anthropologists should be clear and open regarding the purpose, methods, outcomes, and sponsors of their work. . . . Transparency, like informed consent, is a process that involves both making principled decisions prior to beginning the research and encouraging participation, engagement, and open debate throughout its course. . . . Anthropologists have an ethical obligation to consider the potential impact of both their research and the communication or dissemination of the results of their research. . . . Explicit negotiation with research partners and participants about data ownership and access and about dissemination of results, may be necessary before deciding whether to begin research. . . .
3. **Obtain Informed Consent and Necessary Permissions.** . . . Minimally, informed consent includes sharing with potential participants the research goals, methods, funding sources or sponsors, expected outcomes, anticipated impacts of the research, and the rights and responsibilities of research participants. It must also include establishing expectations regarding anonymity and credit. Researchers must present to research participants the possible impacts of participation, and make clear that despite their best efforts, confidentiality may be compromised or outcomes may differ from those anticipated. . . . In the event that the research changes in ways that will directly affect the participants, anthropologists must revisit and renegotiate consent. . . . Informed consent does not necessarily imply or require a particular written or signed form. It is the quality of the consent, not its format, which is relevant.
4. **Weigh Competing Ethical Obligations Due Collaborators and Affected Parties.** Anthropologists must weigh competing ethical obligations to research participants, students, professional colleagues, employers and funders, among others, while recognizing that obligations to research participants are usually primary. . . .
5. **Make Your Results Accessible.** Results of anthropological research should be disseminated in a timely fashion. It is important to bear in mind that these results may not be clear cut, and may be subject to multiple interpretations, as well as susceptible to differing and unintended uses. In some situations, limitations on dissemination may be appropriate where such restrictions will protect participants or their cultural heritage and/or tangible or intangible cultural or intellectual property.
6. **Protect and Preserve Your Records.** . . . Researchers have a responsibility to use appropriate methods to ensure the confidentiality and security of field notes, recordings, samples or other primary data and the identities of participants. . . . Ethical decisions regarding the preservation of research materials must balance obligations to maintain data integrity with responsibilities to protect research participants and their communities against future harmful impacts.

FIGURE 6.1 Selections from the American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics*

* www.aaanet.org/profdev/ethics

epistemological postulates and assumptions"; and "Sociologists study sociological problems and topics rather than people per se; people should not be treated as objects in the process of doing research" (Sociological Association of Aotearoa, 2012). You may find it helpful to seek out ethical codes of your professional association in your own country as well as in other countries to help you think through ethical aspects of your proposed research.

The bottom line is that in light of today's codes of ethics, a number of studies from the 1950s and 1960s would never be allowed. Subjects frequently were drawn from low-power groups; in some cases, they gave information only to have the findings used against their own interests by people in positions of power (Punch, 1986). Ethical codes help to mitigate this occurrence. Nonetheless, as some researchers observe, ethical codes can also protect the powerful. For example, Wilkins (1979, p. 109) notes that prisoners' rights are rarely a matter of concern for authorities until someone wants to do research in prisons. In effect, authorities can protect themselves under the guise of protecting subjects. Institutions that require explicit consent often have elaborate screening devices to deflect research on sensitive issues (Galliher, 1982).

Research ethical codes also can be culturally biased. Lipson (1994) points out how Western codes of ethics focus on respect for the individual and for individual rights, while "in many other cultures, 'personhood' is defined in terms of one's tribe, social group, or village" (p. 341). She uses examples from her work with Afghan refugees to demonstrate how many "do not think of themselves as individuals who have their own rights or autonomy, but as members of families" (p. 342). Because people in much of the world think and act in terms of community, rather than the individual, Howitt and Stevens (2005) suggest that the nonlocal researcher has the ethical obligation to obtain formal or informal community-based research agreements that go beyond IRB guidelines and involve the community in "identifying appropriate research goals and questions, appropriate ways to seek knowledge (culturally specific, appropriate methodologies), and appropriate ways for research findings and knowledge to be shared" (p. 38).

With cross-cultural research dilemmas in mind, an AAA commission raised the issue of whether or not the AAA had the moral authority to create a code of ethics if it also espoused **cultural relativism**. That is, they asked if moral codes of different cultures can be considered morally equal, how was it that the AAA could develop a code of ethics for conducting research? In their discussion, the commission concluded that although cultural relativism is an important intellectual stance for understanding cultural systems, it does not mean that the researcher has to agree with all of the customs of research participants. For example, although slavery is generally considered wrong, the practice continues to exist in some places and is worthy of study. The commission eventually agreed that the development of an ethical code was important as a guide for people doing field research. That ethical codes may preclude certain kinds of research or that they may be culturally biased are not grounds for dismissal, but

rather indicate how, in qualitative research, standards of ethicality may evolve as your research perspectives grow and your participation increases.

RESEARCHER ROLES AND ETHICAL DILEMMAS

This section touches upon ways in which issues of ethics combine with the different roles researchers assume and how this may play out in the field. Some of the roles worry the researcher. Others are attractive but perplexing in relationship to data-gathering goals. The roles include exploiter, reformer, advocate, and friend. Different ethical dilemmas accompany each.

Exploiter

Esperanza has given me her story to smuggle across the border. Just as rural Mexican laborers export their bodies for labor on American soil, Esperanza has given me her story for export only. . . . The question will be whether I can act as her literary broker without becoming the worst kind of coyote, getting her across, but only by exploiting her lack of power to make it to el otro lado any other way.

(Behar, 1993, p. 234)

Questions of exploitation, or of taking advantage of research participants, tend to arise as you become immersed in your research and begin to rejoice in the richness of what you are learning. You are thankful, but you may begin to feel guilty about how much you are receiving and how little you seem to be giving in return. Take this concern seriously. As uninvited outsiders, many researchers have entered a community, mined the raw data of words and behaviors, and then withdrawn to process those data into a product that served themselves and, perhaps, their professional colleagues. Research participants remained anonymous, while researchers received status, prestige, and sometimes royalties from publications (Plummer, 1983). Researchers may work to justify their actions with trickle-down promises such as “Through getting the word out to other professionals (special educators, nurses, social workers), we will be able to help people in situations like yours.”

Exploitation involves questions of power and control. If not engaged in collaborative or action research projects, how do you know if you are “using” your participants? Mitzi began to interview homeless mothers about the schooling of their children, and she agonized over what she was giving back to the women in return for the time they spent with her. In his study of first-year principals, Dick felt he used his relationships, his contacts, and his friends all over the state to get data. Mitzi and Dick asked difficult questions about using others and reciprocity. They were both working on dissertations and feeling as though they were receiving more than they were giving. Most likely, they were. One could ask, “In what ways were they giving back to the communities?” Mitzi and Dick treated

interviewees with respect and dignity. That was ethical. They listened carefully, making sure they understood what was told to them. That was ethical. Mitzi worked in social services and Dick in public education. Both planned to incorporate what they were learning into the work they did and to share it with others. That was ethical. Neither made promises to participants to solve their problems; rather, they listened to their participants' stories and resolved to make their voices heard. That was ethical.

If the standard of ethicality is addressing the difficulties of people from whom you obtain information and resolving them right away, then much research is doomed never to begin. Nonetheless, the question of exploitation needs serious attention; particularly when you are conducting an inquiry with marginalized and oppressed populations. Consider ways in which your work can be **decolonizing research** and of use to the group with whom you are working. In the text *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith poses questions to ask of a research project, including "Who defined the research problem?"; "For whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so?"; "What knowledge will the community gain from this study?"; "What are some likely positive outcomes from this study?"; and "To whom is the research accountable?" (p. 173). Try answering these questions with your research project in mind. If your answers clearly show that you do all the decision making and benefit the most, you should think seriously about modifying your research design.

Intervener/Reformer

Unlike the exploiter role, which researchers may wander into but should avoid, the intervener or reformer role is one that researchers may consciously decide to assume. In the process of doing research, researchers often acquire information that is potentially dangerous to some people if shared. As I interviewed young Caribbean farmers about their practices, I unexpectedly learned about the illegal cultivation and marketing of marijuana. As Peshkin (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) interviewed students in one of his studies, he became privy to dangerous information:

You know about the corner store, right? No? Gosh. They sell alcohol to anyone. Anyone. My friend and I went there to buy some chips and the guy who was standing behind the counter said, "You guys drink? I'll sell you some wine coolers. I won't tell your parents. Don't worry about it. Want some wine cooler?" (p. 114)

In another case, through observations and interviews at a zoo, Nancy grew increasingly concerned over what she considered inhumane treatment of certain animals and worried over what to do with her information. When research participants trust you, you invariably receive the privilege and burden of learning things that are problematic at best and dangerous at worst.

Your ethical dilemma concerns what to do with dangerous knowledge. To what extent should you continue to protect the confidentiality of research participants? If you learn about illegal behavior, should you expose it? In the previous examples, had the researchers informed the authorities of their knowledge, they possibly would have caused harm to some people as well as jeopardized continued research in those sites and, possibly, subsequent projects. None of these researchers discussed their knowledge with others or personally intervened. Continual protection of confidentiality is often the best policy (Ball, 1985; Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). If revealing information could result in harm to some participants, you need to decide whether to ignore that information, refer to it obliquely, or call an end to your research and attempt to right what you perceive as unjust or wrong.

In their book *Knowing Children* (1988), Fine and Sandstrom discuss how pre-adolescents “not only behave in ways that are unknowingly dangerous, but also knowingly and consciously behave in ways that are outside the rules set by adults” (p. 55). As trust develops between the researcher and the children, words and actions of the children may pose ethical dilemmas for the researcher. A child may, for example, act as a bully or make a sexist comment. Fine and Sandstrom conclude that “children must be permitted to engage in certain actions and speak certain words that the adult researcher finds distressing. Further, in some instances, the researcher must act in ways that are at least tacitly supportive of these distressing behaviors” (p. 55).

The question remains, however, how “wrong” or how “dangerous” you perceive a situation to be before you intervene on the basis of your unexpectedly acquired knowledge. If, for example, as a researcher you suspect ongoing emotional abuse of a child, do you react differently than if your work puts you in contact with students being offered alcohol at the corner store? Could not the latter also be construed as a case of child abuse? Although lines of obligation are more clearly drawn by particular professional associations, the line is not always obvious between a felt moral obligation to intervene and an obligation to continue as privacy-protecting researcher.

Judgments often are made on a mix of contextual elements and personal compulsions. Some preventive measures, however, will help avert such dilemmas. Laurie, a nurse, conducted research in a hospital setting. She worried about what she should do if she observed malpractice while in her research role. Finally, she discussed her worries with her cohorts in a qualitative research methods class. By taking the worry seriously and putting it through a variety of configurations, the class urged Laurie to meet with her gatekeepers and with the nursing staff she was observing and interviewing to get their advice on how she should proceed if she observed malpractice.

Developing some sort of support group to discuss worries and dilemmas is a valuable part of the research process. Some researchers build a panel of experts into their research design. A student’s dissertation committee can serve this function, but expert panels and dissertation committees do not necessarily know how to deal with ethical questions that arise in qualitative research. Ideally,

the researcher has a support group made up of others who, although perhaps involved in substantively different topics, are all struggling with similar methodological questions. The researcher also ideally builds sufficient trust with a cadre of research participants to be able to proactively discuss potential ethical issues and consequent actions to take.

Advocate

Advocates are like interventionists in that they decide to take a position on some issue that they become aware of through their research. Unlike interveners or reformers, who try to change something within the research site, the advocate champions a cause. As Lynne interviewed university custodians, she was tempted to become an advocate:

I keep asking myself to what extent my research should improve the situation for custodians. This is magnified somewhat by my feeling that I have been a participant in the process, raising issues with custodians that many by now have come to terms with or raising expectations that some good will result. Even though my research was for the purpose of understanding and not "fixing," how can one come so close to what is judged to be a very bad situation and walk away? I keep asking myself, "Do I owe them solutions or at least some relief?" My answer is always no, but then I keep asking myself the same question, probably because I just don't like my answer.

Lynne's research heightened her concern about the well-being of the custodians she studied. Advocacy can take a variety of forms, presentations and publications among the most readily available. Lynne needs to decide whether such formats will serve her concern, or if there are others that are within her competency that would be acceptable to the custodians. She expresses well a motivation of qualitative researchers who choose to do critical, collaborative, or participatory action research, and she could choose to do further work with the custodians in this vein.

Friend

As discussed in Chapter 4, researchers often have friendly relations with research participants; in some cases, the relationship is one of friendship. Whether friendship or friendliness is the case, ethical dilemmas can result. You may gain access to intimate information given to you in the context of friendship rather than in your researcher role. Should you use such information as data? Hansen's exploration of Danish life relied on personal friendships as channels for information. Hansen (1976) expressed her discomfort with her role as researcher and her role as friend: "The confidential information I received was given to me in my role as friend. Yet, I was also an anthropologist and everything

I heard or observed was potentially relevant to my understanding of the dynamics of Danish interaction” (p. 127). Here, Hansen discusses a particular confidential story told to her by one woman:

Later that day I would record this conversation, alone, without her knowledge, in my role as anthropologist. In my role as investigator the conversation became “data.” Would she have spoken so frankly about this and other more intimate subjects had she understood that I listened in *both* roles, not only as friend? (p. 129)

As she continued to gather data, Hansen grew concerned by how she would protect the anonymity of her interviewees. She also experienced ethical dilemmas over publishing findings that would possibly discomfort her friends, if not betray the friendship relationships.

Hansen needed to ask whether her manuscript truly needs to include all that her friends tell her. Would the narrative hold up if the troublesome bits were excluded? Can those troublesome bits be presented in less troublesome ways? In the end, should we not let our friends be judges, by submitting to them what we have written, and taking our lead from their decisions?

In Busier et al.’s article “Intimacy in Research” (1997), the authors argue that intimacy can be a “route to understanding” (p. 165), but that it carries with it responsibilities and considerations, including reflexivity on the nature and influence of the relationship, analysis of the role of power in the relationship, and attunement to relational ethics. In relational ethics, “the derivation and authority of moral behavior [is located] not in rules and obligations as such, but in our attachments and regard for others” (Flinders, 1992, p. 106). Predicated on trust, care, and a sense of collaboration, relational ethics is at the core of research in which friendship relationships are welcomed.

NO EASY SOLUTIONS

By their nature, ethical dilemmas defy easy solutions. Researchers continue to debate whether or not some situations or topics should be researched and, if so, how. They question whether or not fieldwork is inevitably deceitful. They argue over the place in fieldwork of deception through omission. They raise ethical questions about the use and abuse of power in research, particularly with economically poor and disadvantaged groups. And they question whether codes and regulations can successfully shape research ethics. Concern for ethics and research relationships have, in fact, led many qualitative researchers to include in their research procedures processes that surpass those of IRB regulations. Ongoing reflections on intentions, on the researcher’s roles and relationships, and on political implications are all part of this. Ethical codes will certainly guide your behavior, but the degree to which your research is ethical depends on your continual communication and interaction with research participants throughout the study. Researchers must not be the only arbiters of this critical research issue.

Ethical philosophies that set the standards for IRBs and other ethics boards are, to some degree, challenged by a new social ethics, sometimes referred to as **communitarianism**. Described as "communitarian, egalitarian, democratic, critical, caring, engaged, performative, social justice oriented" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2008, p. 542), this ethic mandates "a stance that is democratic, reciprocal, and reciprocating" (p. 543). Rather than strive to create neutral principles for moral judgments, as utilitarian ethics has done, the communitarian perspective calls for an ethics rooted in human relations, care, and sociohistorical context. "To take a communitarian approach," states Strike (2006), "requires that researchers examine their behavior in the light of the goals of the community. It also requires concern for the welfare of those institutions and practices that serve the community, and, hence, requires more than that individual researchers conduct their own research with integrity" (p. 72).

Although we did not frame our thoughts as communitarian ethics, Patricia Martin and I shared thoughts about such ethics when we each engaged in independent research in Oaxaca, Mexico. As we discussed our research, we found ourselves focusing on three concepts important to Oaxacan society: community, communal autonomy, and hospitality. We had observed ways in which these cultural values guided people's actions and interactions in Oaxaca. As we talked, we began reflecting upon how these concepts could serve as ethical frameworks for our research processes specifically and qualitative research generally (see Martin & Glesne, 2002).

In terms of hospitality, we began by discussing how we had responded to the hospitality offered to us by people in various Oaxacan communities. We had been invited into homes, included in fiestas, seated in places of honor, fed, and generally acknowledged. Conscientiously incorporating greater reciprocity (offering food, sharing time, and being less task-oriented, in particular) within the daily process of our fieldwork was undoubtedly one step toward a better response to hospitality. As we tried to imagine hospitality as an ethical framework for doing research, we began viewing differently our prior concerns with the role of power in research relationships and our efforts to make the research process more horizontal. Rather than trying to equalize power in relationships, a lens of hospitality would compel us to attend to exchanges of care, compassion, and generosity. Hospitality asks us to see aspects of relationship that include and then go beyond inequities in power. It also demands that we, as researchers, act in culturally hospitable ways. A code of ethics for research in New Zealand's Maori communities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) supports this notion, including, among others, the directives to "share and host people, be generous," "Do not trample over the *mana* [fundamental duties and rights] of people," and "Don't flaunt your knowledge" (p. 120).

Similarly to communitarian ethics, "relational ethics" emphasizes mutual respect and the maintenance of dignity and connections between researcher and the community in which the research takes place. Based on an ethics of care, this stance often becomes part of collaborative and participatory action research. "Care theory emphasizes the moral interdependence of people" (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 70). These perspectives, along with the accompanying trend for researchers to take moral activist stances on issues involving power and injustice, raise yet

more questions of ethics in research. In particular, we must ask, “On what basis can activist stances be taken and to whom and how is the researcher accountable?” As we, in the social sciences, embrace multiple ways of critiquing, researching, and knowing, we have to forge new ways of constructing ethics that focus on specific contexts, participants, and relationships.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Christians, C. (2011). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 61–80). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hammersley, M., & Traianou, A. (2012). *Ethics in qualitative research: Controversies and contexts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

EXERCISES

1. Choose one of the following ethical dilemmas (either individually or as a group in class) and reflect upon what you would do if you were the researcher.
 - a. You are interviewing college women who are anorexic, but whose anorexia is no longer active, about their schooling experiences. You have arranged to interview each of your participants at least five times over two consecutive semesters. During the third interview with one participant, just after the winter holidays, you begin to suspect that her anorexia is active again because of her obvious weight loss and a few of her comments. When you ask her how her health is, she replies that she is feeling great. What do you do?
 - b. You are working on an intellectual biography of a well-respected university president. Most of your interviews are with the president, who has obviously consented to your request to compose an intellectual biography, including some attention to his formative years. You are reading all of his published works and interviewing some family members as well as significant colleagues. In the process, you uncover some potentially damaging or, at the least, unflattering information about his private life. What do you do?
 - c. You are inquiring into a refugee resettlement program in a small city, with particular interest in education and community involvement. Through development of rapport and time spent volunteering with the program, you begin to learn how an earlier immigrant is seemingly taking financial advantage of recent refugees. He is charging for information and services that should be provided through the settlement program, and people are going to him rather than trying to get their needs met through the program. You want to protect the new refugees from exploitation and to report the behavior of the earlier immigrant, yet you also worry that perhaps you don't fully understand what is happening culturally. What do you do?
2. In small groups, look up the code of ethics for a particular discipline or association (with each group choosing something different). How do the codes reflect various research paradigms (e.g., postempiricism, interpretivism, critical)? As a large group, discuss similarities and differences among the codes.

Here are some associations that may be of interest with information available through Internet searches for their ethical guidelines:

- American Anthropology Association
 - American Psychological Association
 - American Sociological Association
 - American Folklore Society
 - Association of Internet Researchers
 - British Educational Research Association
 - British Sociological Association
 - Society of Professional Journalists
3. Reflect in your field log on potential ethical issues that might arise during your study. What can you do to minimize them? What would you do if faced with your ethical concerns? Discuss with at least one classmate.

CHAPTER 7

Finding Your Story: Data Analysis

I can no longer put off the inevitable. I've been home three weeks, and I've found as many distractions as I could to avoid coding. I've organized my files, I've set up the study and done a major reorganization so I can spread out the stacks that will soon pile up. I'm reading, I'm thinking, and as a way of really beginning, I took out the prospectus I wrote in November. During the last months at my site, I put a few Post-it notes into the prospectus file with other BIG looming ideas, ones that showed me I would have to tinker with the planned structure. Today I thought I'd just print out a sheet of the tentative chapter structure to put up on the wall (and delay coding once again?). I began typing it, and what did I find? It's all wrong, it doesn't capture the way I've been thinking at all. The power of the shift hit me head on. I tried to reorganize the chapters, but I found that wouldn't work either. So instead I wrote out the big themes I have been thinking about in my sleep, while I drive, when I cook Passover food...and that's where I'll have to start.

(Pugach, personal correspondence, March 31, 1994)

Data analysis involves organizing what you have seen, heard, and read so you can figure out what you have learned and make sense of what you have experienced. Working with the data, you describe, compare, create explanations, link your story to other stories, and possibly pose hypotheses or develop theories. How you go about doing so, however, can vary widely. Linguistic traditions, for example, focus upon words and conversations, treating “text as an object of analysis itself” (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 769) and may use procedures such as *formal narrative analysis*, *discourse analysis*, or *linguistic analysis* as tools for making sense of data. Researchers from sociological traditions tend to treat “text as a window into human experience” (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 769) and use **thematic analysis** procedures to deal with data through coding and segregating data for further analysis, description, and interpretation. Thematic analysis, the approach most widely used in ethnographic work, receives primary attention in this chapter, but for comparison, several other forms of data analysis are introduced as well.

VARYING FORMS OF ANALYSIS

The form of analysis you use is linked to your methodology, research goals, data collection methods, and so on. This chapter does not attempt to explain the multiple approaches to data analysis that are available, but four different approaches are

presented to introduce how and why analysis procedures may vary. Read more widely on modes that resonate with you, and on data analysis in general. This section begins with an introduction to thematic analysis, the kind of data analysis focused upon throughout the rest of the chapter, before briefly describing conversation analysis from linguistic traditions; narrative analysis, which combines linguistic and sociological traditions; and semiotics from sociological traditions.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis—searching for themes and patterns—is used frequently in anthropological, educational, and other qualitative work. An important aspect of thematic analysis is segregating data into categories by *codes* or labels. The coded clumps of data are then analyzed in a variety of ways. You might, for example, look at all the data coded the same way for one case and see how it changes over time or varies in relationship to other factors, for example, across events. You can also “explore how categorizations or thematic ideas represented by the codes vary from case to case” (Gibbs, 2007, p. 48). Cases might refer to different events, settings, participants, or policies. Making comparisons is an analytical step in identifying patterns within a particular theme. The goal of thematic analysis is to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of some social phenomenon through understanding the processes that tend to involve that phenomenon as well as the perceptions, values, and beliefs of people toward it. Some researchers, such as those working with **grounded theory methodology**, use the search for themes and patterns to build theory.

Looking for patterns tends to focus attention on unifying aspects of the culture or setting, on what people usually do, with whom they usually interact, and so on. Although thematic analysis searches for patterns, it is not about stipulating the norm. A strength of thematic analysis is its ability to help reveal underlying complexities as you seek to identify tensions and distinctions, and to explain where and why people differ from a general pattern. Thematic analysis receives more discussion later on.

Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is a powerful form of analysis if your research goals are to explore how meaning gets communicated and negotiated through naturally occurring conversations:

Conversation analysis studies the various practices adopted by conversational participants during ordinary everyday talk. This may include how participants negotiate overlaps and interruptions, how various failures (such as hearing and understanding problems) are dealt with during the interaction and how conversations are opened and terminated. (Bloor & Wood, 2006, p. 39)

Conversation analysis might be used, for example, in a study of a hospital implementing an interprofessional teamwork program to improve patient safety.

The researcher might use conversation analysis to inform the program's development through a focus on how doctors, nurses, technicians, and aides talk with each other in specific patient-related situations, and on what kinds of meanings are communicated and negotiated through that talk.

Data for conversation analysis studies tend to come from recordings of everyday occurrences, not from interviews. The researcher focuses on details within the conversations—from time intervals between utterances to stress on certain words—and employs a system of transcription that uses various symbols to indicate nonverbal aspects of a conversation. Conversation analysis developed out of a form of interpretative research called *ethnomethodology*, a methodology that focuses how people make sense of everyday life and the procedures they use to accomplish taken-for-granted interactions such as “trusting, agreeing, negotiating” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 98). Frequently, video recording is used as a data-gathering tool to document some aspect of everyday life, and the videos are studied and analyzed frame by frame.

Narrative Analysis

If your research goal is to understand how participants construct meaning from their experiences and/or how they structure the narrating or telling of those experiences, then you will want to know about **narrative analysis** strategies. Research questions tend to be those that “explore either the structure of narratives or the specific experiences of particular events, such as marriage breakdown or finding out information that is life-changing; undergoing procedures (social/medical); or participating in particular programs” (Grbich, 2013, p. 216). Narratives may be collected in situ by voice or video recordings or through interviews. If obtained through interviews, the interviewer generally asks broad, open-ended questions such as “Tell me about...” and then allows respondents to tell their stories with as little interruption as possible. Rather than dissect these stories into themes and patterns, the analysis process is concerned with both the story and the telling of the story.

An example would be a research project that seeks to understand how mothers who have had a child die have made sense of that loss. The researcher could take a sociolinguistic or a sociocultural narrative analysis approach to the data. Even stronger would be using both. The sociocultural approach focuses on the close reading of the narratives as told. For example, if you have conducted interviews with women who have suffered the loss of a child, you would read and reread transcripts of each narrative and make note of the events included in each story; the feelings and reactions expressed; the meanings each woman made of her story; and any explanations (Gibbs, 2007). You would then compare participants' narratives, noting similar and different events and sense making. You would also work to embed the narratives in or link the stories to the cultural and political context of participants (Grbich, 2013).

The sociolinguistic approach focuses on the linguistic and rhetorical forms of telling the stories. You might analyze the narratives by how the women began

their stories, how they ended them, and what made up the middle. You might consider the dramatic style of tales. Narratives tend to fit one or more particular dramatic styles: tragedy, satire, romance, comedy (Gibbs, 2007). If all the stories of your narrators were told in more or less the same dramatic style, then you would reflect upon why that might be so for the particular group of women interviewed. If the stories had very different structures, you would reflect upon that and try to figure out why. Gubrium and Holstein (2009) make the point that people's narratives often bear "diverse plot structures and themes," that go unnoticed "unless the researcher is aware of compositional options at the start" (p. 69). The narrative analyst looks at how the interviewee links experiences and circumstances together to make meaning, realizing also that circumstances do not determine how the story will be told or the meaning that is made of it.

Drawing from sociological traditions, Gubrium and Holstein (2009) emphasize the need in narrative work to go beyond the transcript. The analyst must also consider how the context in which the narrator tells the story influences what is told and how it is told. Who asks the questions that invite a story? How are some stories discouraged or silenced? For example, stories my father told me about his participation in World War II through interviews I conducted for the Library of Congress Veteran Project are likely to be different tellings than when he gathered with other World War II vets in Washington, D.C., on Veteran's Day in 2008. Observations of the context are important for situating and interpreting the narratives. Gubrium and Holstein (2009) describe *narrative ethnography* as "a method of procedure and analysis involving the close scrutiny of circumstances, their actors, and actions in the process of formulating and communicating accounts. This requires direct observation, with decided attention to story formation" (p. 22).

Researchers across the social science disciplines use narrative analysis, but often for different purposes. As Bloor and Wood (2006) state, "Linguists might examine the internal structure of narratives, psychologists might focus on the process of recalling and summarizing stories, and anthropologists might look at the function of stories cross-culturally" (p. 119).

Semiotics

Semiotics draws from linguistics and communications sciences and seeks to understand how people communicate through signs and symbols. Semiotics looks less at *what* participants perceive or what they believe and more at *how* specific beliefs or attitudes get into their heads. For example, why might long-distance bus travel in the United States be perceived as a possibly dangerous mode of travel? Why are foods labeled "organic" perceived as good? Why is economic development often seen as a sign of progress? Semiotic analysis is appropriate for research that asks questions of cultural belief systems or of how certain kinds of information (such as identity) get conveyed.

Semiotics focuses on basically anything that possesses information. Written and oral texts obviously make use of signs that convey information, but a sign

could also be a red hat, a pierced tongue, or a bag of tamales in contexts where each conveys some meaning. For something to be a **sign**, there has to be a *signifier* (red hat), something that carries the message, and the *signified*, the concept that is conveyed (member of a Red Hat Society). In semiotic analysis, the focus is on how signs create or evoke meaning in certain contexts.

An integrated system of signs produces a *social code*. “Semiotics aims to uncover the dynamics beyond surface meanings or shallow descriptions and to articulate underlying implications” (Madison, 2012, p. 76). It is concerned not only with what a sign *denotes* or represents, but also with what the sign *connotes* or means in particular cultural contexts. For example, an undergraduate student undertook a semiotic analysis of student groups on campus. She conducted interviews to obtain perspectives on how students group themselves and each other, but much of her work consisted of observations of students—their clothing, ornamentations, and interactional behavior. She became particularly intrigued with distinct ways in which some groups of students used particular signs and symbols to communicate belonging to or differing from other students.

Semiotic analysts may consider visual signs (e.g., use of certain colors), linguistic signs (use of certain words), and aural signs (use of sound, such as tone of voice). They look at who is doing the communication and who are the intended recipients. They look at how the communication is structured and at what that structure conveys. And they might look at binary oppositions; that is, by saying that one kind of cookie is “organic” implies that all the others without that label are not. Finally, they look at the codes or unspoken rules and conventions that structure and link the signs to the meanings people make of them and at how these codes may change over time.

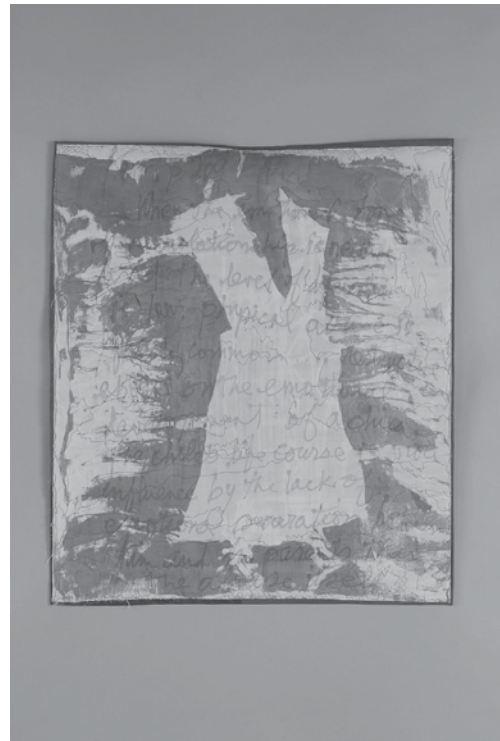
In looking at how signs interrelate to construct meaning, Roland Barthes and others have inquired into ideologies and systems of power to suggest ways in which certain signs get taken as “natural”—as the way things are or should be—and are then manipulated in the interest of those in power. Various motivations (from maintaining the status quo to enticing purchase of a product) may be behind getting a sign to connote a desired image.

To conclude this section on varying forms of analysis, I present a visual metaphor. Consider how fiber artist Caroline Manheimer goes about piecing together scraps of fabric—her data. Making an analogy to *thematic analysis*, she may segregate (code) her fabric pieces based on certain criteria (such as size, color, shape) into groups and then join the bits together, creating a design in which one color or shape informs the selection of the adjoining fragment. In the process, she might cut some scraps into smaller pieces (splitting codes), or she might sew several pieces together (lumping codes) and then reorganize, creating patterns as exemplified in her art quilt *Wanderings* (Image 7.1). In *Uniform Series #15* (Image 7.2), Manheimer’s process is more analogous to *narrative analysis* in that she uses fabric to evoke a story about a life in which the Catholic school uniform becomes the symbolic narrative thread. The pieces of fabric (data) are more holistic, and the telling (the narrative) is highlighted.

*Caroline Manheimer,
Wanderings, 2003, fiber art
(Tim Barnwell,
photographer)*



*Caroline Manheimer, 2008. Uniform
Series #15, 2008, fiber art (Tim Barnwell,
photographer)*



Your research purposes and questions influence not only what data you produce, but also how you make sense of the data you have. Because much of this book is about ethnographic research techniques that help in understanding socio-cultural aspects of some issue, group, or organization, the remainder of this chapter describes more fully procedures for thematic analysis.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: THE EARLY DAYS

If you consistently reflect on your data, work to organize them, and try to discover what they have to tell you, your study will be more relevant and possibly more profound than if you view data analysis as a discrete step to be done after data collection. Working with your data while collecting them enables you to focus and shape the study as it proceeds and is part of the analytic process. O'Reilly (2005) gives an example of how she involved ongoing data analysis with data collection in her research on British migration to Spain:

I noticed that when two British people meet there they tend to kiss each other on both cheeks, as the Spanish traditionally do. This had never been written in my field notes because I hadn't thought it important until I realised I had seen it happen a lot. I started to watch more closely. . . . I became aware that it is just the British migrants who do this and not the tourists, and that the migrants are more likely to do it when they are in the company of tourists. I then began to notice that in the company of tourists migrants would use the occasional Spanish word when talking to each other. This led me to thinking about the relationship between migrants and tourists, whereas until then I had focused more on the relationship between British and Spanish people. I thus began, during fieldwork, a closer analysis of migrants and tourists and their behaviour and attitudes towards each other that I would not have been able to do once I had left the field. I started to sort through the notes and data I had collected, assigning things to a new heading of "tourist/migrant relations," and discovered many new occurrences I had not noticed before. (p. 187)

As O'Reilly notes, analytical connections need to be made while you are still collecting data to make full use of the possibilities of fieldwork. Writing memos and monthly reports, managing your data, and applying rudimentary coding schemes will help you to create new hunches and new questions, and to begin to learn from and keep track of the information you are receiving.

Memo Writing

The term **memo** originally referred to a specific noting process in grounded theory research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The term is now used widely in qualitative research to refer to jotting down reflective thoughts. By writing memos to yourself or keeping a reflective field log, you develop your thoughts; by getting your thoughts down as they occur, no matter how preliminary or in what form, you begin the analysis process. Memo writing also frees your mind for new thoughts and perspectives. "When I think of something," said graduate student Jackie, "I write it down. I might forget about the thought, but I won't lose it. It's there later on to help me think."

Throughout the research process, you work to remain open to new perspectives and thoughts. Gordon, another graduate student, stated, "Insights and new ways to look at the data arise while I am at work at other things. Probably the most productive places for these insights are on the long drive to class and during long, boring meetings when my mind is not actively engaged." Capture analytic

thoughts when they occur. Keeping a recorder in the car can help, as can jotting down your thoughts wherever you happen to be, day or night (if safe to do so).

Don't just wait for thoughts to occur. Periodically, sit down to compose analytical memos. You might want to consider your research questions and write about ways in which your work is addressing the questions or posing new or different questions. Write about patterns you see occurring. If these patterns seemed particularly neat and comprehensive, think about who might have differing perspectives, and make interview appointments with them. Think about exceptions to any pattern. Remember that you are looking for a range of perspectives, not for the generalization that can sum up behavior, beliefs, or values among a group of people. What are the negative cases to the patterns you observe? Consider when and why those cases might occur. If you continuously consider what you are learning, these early analytical thoughts can also guide you to the next set of observations or interviewees and interview questions.

See Figure 7.1 for an example of an analytic memo I wrote before coding data from fieldwork in seven academic art museums. I knew that I needed to address the broad theme of university/college culture, politics, and economic challenges, and I sat down to specifically note aspects of that theme—in no particular order—that were striking me as important. Writing the memo allowed me to perceive ways to further categorize or organize my data, and it sent me back to my data to further examine, for example, ways in which a school's history and culture linked to the ways in which art and art museums were perceived at specific institutions.

In addition to memos to yourself, writing monthly field reports for committee members, family and friends, or the funding agency is a way to examine systematically where you are and where you should consider going. Keep the field reports short and to the point, so that they don't become a burden for you to write or for your readers to read. Headings such as those I call "The Three P's: Progress, Problems, and Plans" help you to review your work succinctly and plan realistically. In reflecting on both the research process and the data collected, you develop new questions, new hunches, and, sometimes, new ways of approaching the research. The reports also provide a way to communicate research progress to interested others, keeping them informed of the whats and hows and giving them a chance for input along the way.

Writing helps you think about your work, new questions, and connections. All this writing adds up: You will have many thoughts already on paper when you begin working on the first draft of your manuscript. These comments and thoughts recorded as field journal entries or as memos are links across your data that find their way into a variety of files later on.

Maintaining Some Semblance of Control

When anthropologists, sociologists and others talk about the "richness" of field data, this can be another way of expressing the sheer volume and complexity of information they collect and store.

(Dicks, Mason, Coffey, & Atkinson, 2005, p. 2)

I am seeing that I will need to write about university politics and economic challenges. I don't fully understand either, but they are so important for these campus art museums "at the side" of things, even when "at the heart." The politics and economics section could be complemented by ways museums make a difference in the lives of the people who experience them and that ranges from pathways of creativity to a meditative escape...

So what are the things standing out for me?

1. That reaching out to college/university audience and reaching out to community are not as distinct as first appear.
2. A school's history and culture that support the arts is of utmost importance.
3. That leadership to focus the museum's mission and to get others onboard plus ability to fund-raise is crucial.
4. That art and art museums can be successfully used in creative and engaging ways across disciplines.
5. That art museums can address cross-disciplinary/interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary in different ways—primarily through focus on curriculum or on exhibit.
6. That the museum is a vibrant place of apprenticeship-type learning for students. They get to do things that often are done only by curators or registrars. They are a place of learning research skills, using archives, exploring cultural contexts and history. They also learn how to present and communicate their research through exhibitions, labels, text, websites, worksheets.
7. The museum is a resource for jobs, assistantships, and credit-generation for students. Not all are in art history or studio art. Some come from another discipline and "fall in love" with museum work.
8. The art museum can have a strong link to education department. It can be a place where students see and practice interacting with K-12 on museum "tours." It can be a forum for students to teach/lead hands-on art activities and thereby link with children and their families. It is a learning lab.
9. If a museum is "known" across the campus, it seems more likely to benefit from alumni donations. This goes back to the culture of the institution.
10. Administrative support and belief is crucial. Economic cuts are part of the reality. If the admin. does not see the power and potential of the art museum, its budget will be cut. This may mean some restructuring—With whom is the museum allied? To whom does it report? How are FTEs generated? Can they be generated by the museum? What is the college/univ. mission for service beyond the campus? How does the museum get credit for this role?

FIGURE 7.1 Example of an Analytic Memo*

*Memo was written during fieldwork in a study of campus art museums sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

Expect to be overwhelmed with the sheer volume—notebooks, photocopies, computer files, manila files, and documents—of data that accumulates during research. You truly acquire *fat data*; their sheer bulk is intimidating. Invariably, you will collect more data than you need. If they are not kept organized, the physical

presence of so many data can lead you to procrastinate rather than face the task of focused analysis. Keeping up with data organization during the collection process also helps to ensure that you continually learn from the data and that you spread out the onerous tasks often associated with transforming data into computer files. Based upon his own experience, Gordon advised:

Transcribe notes onto the computer after each interview and observation. This admonition has been prompted by my discovery that a fairly substantial part of my data is not in readily usable form. I have had to go back after three months and type my notes because I find it hard to use data that I cannot read easily. Drudgery.

Keeping up with data involves transcribing interviews, observation notes, and field logs and memos to computer files, filing, creating new files, and reorganizing your files. Throughout, you continuously reflect upon what you are learning. Develop appropriate forms for recording data collection dates, sites, times, and people interviewed or observed, interviews transcribed, and so on (see Figure 7.2). In this way, an account is kept not only of your progress, but also of gaps, since you can easily see where and with whom you spent time and what else you need to do.

Your filing system builds and becomes increasingly complex as you collect data. You may begin with files organized by generic categories such as interview questions, people, and places. These files provide a way to keep track of information you need early on. As your data and experience grow, you will create relevant specific files on the social processes under investigation where you can keep notes from readings and your own analytic thoughts and observations. Early on, you may also begin files on topics such as titles, introductory and concluding chapters, and quotations.

Each of these specific files serves a distinct purpose. The title file, for example, contains your efforts to capture what your narrative may be about (Peshkin, 1985). Although your research project has a stated central focus (from your research proposal), you do not really know what particular story, of the several possibilities, you will tell. Conjuring up titles as the data are being collected is a way of trying out different emphases, all of which are candidates for ultimately giving form to your data. The titles become a way of getting your mind clear about what you are doing, in an overall sense, although the immediate application may be to concentrate your data collecting as you pursue the implications of a particular focus. In short, your search for a title is an act

	DATE						
NUMBER	INTERVIEWED	INTERVIEWEE	TRANSCRIBED	TIME	ROLE	SUBJECT	NOTE
18	4/8/14	C. Perez	4/10/14	1.5	teacher	math	—
19	4/9/14	D. Brown	4/10/14	.5	admin.	—	late; not completed
20	4/9/14	M. Levine	4/20/14	1.0	teacher	history	—

FIGURE 7.2 Sample Form for Keeping Interview Records

of interpretation. Titles capture what you see as germane to your study; but as your awareness of the promise of your study changes, so do your titles.

Files related to introductions and conclusions direct you to two obvious aspects of every study: its beginning and its ending. Regardless of the particular name that you give to your introductory and concluding chapters, you frame your study in the former—providing necessary context, background, and conceptualization. You effect closure in the concluding chapter by summarizing, at the very least, and by explicating the meaning that you draw from your data as befits the points of your study, even if this means raising more questions or illuminating multiple perspectives rather than providing answers. It is never too early to reflect on the beginning and ending of your work, much as the preparation of these chapters may seem a distant dream when you are caught up in collecting data. Ideally, the existence of these files alerts you to what you might otherwise miss in the course of your study; they stimulate you to notions that, like your titles, are candidates for inclusion in your forthcoming text. Until the writing is actually done, however, you will not know which will be the surviving notions.

The quotation file contains snippets from readings that appear useful for one of the several roles that the relevant literature can play. Eventually, they will be sorted out among chapters, some as epigraphs, those quotations placed at the heads of chapters because they provide the reader with a useful key to what the chapter contains. Other quotations will be the authoritative sprinklings that your elders provide as you find your way through the novel ground of your own data. Through resourceful use of quotations, you acknowledge that the world has not been born anew on your terrain. The quotation file, like other files, is meant to be a reminder that reading should always inspire the question: What, if anything, do these words say about my study?

Files help you to store and organize your thoughts and those of others. Data analysis is the process of organizing data in light of your increasingly sophisticated judgments, that is, of the meaning-finding interpretations that you are learning to make about the shape of your study. Understanding that you are in a learning mode is most important; it reminds you that by each effort of data analysis, you enhance your capacity to further analyze.

Rudimentary Categorizations

This experience lends entirely new meaning to the term *fat data*. I can't even imagine reading everything I have, but I know I need to. And coding it? All the while you're writing, events are still evolving in the community and you can't ignore that either. . . . So you really don't stop collecting data, do you? You just start coding and writing.

(Pugach, personal correspondence)

Marleen Pugach was still at her research site when she wrote this note, realizing her need to begin sorting her data. Classifying data into different groupings is a place to start. Through doing so, you develop a rudimentary coding scheme, the specifics of which are discussed in the next section. You might, for example, think about how you would categorize cases (people, schools, museums, etc.)

in your fieldwork (Pelto, 2013). Doing so helps identify patterns in how cases are similar and different and frequently compels considerations of additional interview questions or of other individuals with whom you need to talk. For example, in my work in Saint Vincent, I began categorizing the young people whom I was interviewing as *traditionalists*, *change agents*, and those who were *opting out* of society in some way. I became particularly interested in the change agents and in trying to figure out what was different in their lives that made them optimistic, or at least determined to make a difference. This realization led to both new questions and interviews with others who fit my change agent category.

In another example, Cindy began a pilot study by observing meetings of a rural school board and interviewing its members. After fifteen hours of data collection, she decided to see what she might learn by coding the data she had. As a result, she created a new research statement:

My initial problem statement was so broad it was difficult to work with. The process of coding and organizing my codes has helped me to determine an approach to solidify a new problem statement that will lead me in a focused exploration of two major areas of school board control: financial and quality education.

Establishing the boundaries for your research is difficult. Social interaction does not occur in neat, isolated units. Gordon reflected on his work: “I constantly find myself heading off in new directions and it is an act of will to stick to my original (but revised) problem statement.” In order to complete any project, you must establish boundaries, but these boundary decisions are also an interpretive judgment based on your awareness of your data and their possibilities. Posting your problem statement or most recent working title above your workspace may help to remind you about the task ahead. Cindy used a computer banner program to print out her (revised) research statement, which she taped to the wall over her desk. The banner guided her work whenever she lifted her head to ponder and reflect.

It may help also to think of the amount of film that goes into a good half-hour documentary. Similar to documentary filmmaking, the methods of qualitative data collecting naturally lend themselves to excess. You collect more than you can use because you cannot define your study so precisely as to pursue a trim, narrowly defined line of inquiry. The open nature of qualitative inquiry means that you acquire even more data than you originally envisioned. You are left with the large task of selecting and sorting—a partly mechanical but mostly interpretive undertaking, because every time you decide to omit a data bit as irrelevant to your study or to place it somewhere, you are making a judgment.

At some point, you stop collecting data, or at least you stop focusing on the collecting. Knowing when to end this phase is difficult. It may be that you have exhausted all sources on the topic—that there are no new situations to observe, no new people to interview, no new documents to read. Such situations are rare. Perhaps you stop collecting data because you have reached **theoretical saturation** (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This means that successive examination of sources yields redundancy and that the data you have seem complete and integrated. Recognizing

theoretical saturation can be tricky, however. It may be that you hear the same thing from all of your informants because your selection of interviewees is too limited or too small for you to get discrepant views. Often, data collection ends through less than ideal conditions: The money runs out or deadlines loom large. Try to make research plans that do not completely exhaust your money, time, or energy, so that you can obtain a sense of complete and integrated data.

ENTERING THE CODE MINES

In the early days of data collection, stories abound. Struck by the stories, you tell them and repeat them. You may even allow them to assume an importance beyond their worth to the purposes of the project. Making sense of the narratives, observations, and documents as a whole comes harder. You do not have to stop telling stories, but in thematic analysis, you must make connections among them: What is being illuminated? What themes and patterns give shape to observations and interviews? Coding helps answer these questions.

When most of the data are collected, the time has come to devote attention to coding and analysis. Although you already may have a classificatory scheme of sorts, you now focus on categorization. You are ready to enter “the code mines.” The work is part tedium and part exhilaration as it renders form and possible meaning to the piles and files of data before you. Marleen’s words portray the somewhat ambivalent psychological ambience that accompanies the analytical process of coding:

I’m about to finish the first set of teacher transcripts and begin with the students. This will probably mean several new codes . . . since it is a new group. I hope the codebook can stand the pressure. One of the hardest things is accepting that doing the coding is a months-long proposition. When my mother asks me if I’m done yet, I know she doesn’t have a clue. (Personal correspondence, May 3, 1994)

What Is a Code?

The word **coding** as used in qualitative work is confusing to those familiar with the term and its use in quantitative survey research, where short open-ended responses are categorized with the purpose of counting. Instead of coding to count, qualitative researchers code to discern themes, patterns, and processes; to make comparisons; and to build theoretical explanations. Some qualitative researchers prefer the term *indexing* to the word *coding*, but as Saldaña (2009) states, “Coding is not just labeling, it is *linking*” (p. 8). Codes link thoughts and actions across bits of data. Indexing does not convey that sense of linking. It may not matter which word to use, as long as you realize that coding in qualitative research is for different purposes than in quantitative work.

Coding is a progressive process of sorting and defining and defining and sorting those scraps of collected data (e.g., observation notes, interview transcripts, memos, documents, and notes from relevant literature) that are applicable

to your research purpose. By putting pieces that exemplify the same descriptive or theoretical idea together into data clumps labeled with a code, you begin to create a thematic organizational framework.

A qualitative research code, as described by Saldaña (2009), “is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (p. 3). Saldaña draws a parallel between a book’s title and a code: “Just as a title represents and captures a book or film or poem’s primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum’s primary content and essence” (p. 3). Note that a code is a word or short phrase, not a number/letter combination or a set of letters meant to represent some phrase, such as T-AHW for teacher use of art homework. Saldaña (2009) finds that such abbreviations “just make the decoding process of your brain work much harder than they need to during analysis” (p. 18). I agree. Write out your code words.

A useful suggestion for creating code words comes from grounded theory research: Think in terms of gerunds (words ending in *ing*). The gerund form moves you to consider processes and actions such as *resisting authority*, *seeking attention*, or *striving to be do-gooders*. Thinking in terms of gerunds (or processes) tends to lead to a more useful and interesting analysis of your data than categorizing by descriptive nouns such as *students*, *teachers*, and *administrators*.

Approaches to Coding

How do you figure out what codes to use and what to mark as coded? It is a creative act that takes concentrated thought as you read and think deeply about the words before you. Begin by reading quickly through all your data with your notebook at the ready for memos and possible code words. You will note that some of the same topics come up over and over. This is not surprising since your research questions were at least somewhat directing your observations, and your interview questions were somewhat guiding the interview script. You will begin to observe, however, that people talk about a topic in both similar and different ways, presenting different perspectives. These similarities and differences become areas for coding. Make note of actions, perspectives, processes, values, and so on that stand out for you as you refamiliarize yourself with the data.

Then, take several interview transcripts or field observations and try coding them line by line. As much as you may try to set aside your assumptions and theoretical frameworks, those perspectives tend to find their way into the codes you choose. That is to be expected. What you want to avoid is imposing an a priori set of codes on your data. Line-by-line coding helps to immerse you in the data and discover what concepts they have to offer. As you read line by line, jotting possible codes in the margin, try to abstract your code words, removing them slightly from the data. For example, a line in your fieldnotes that reads, “Ms. Wilson asked the students to sit in their seats and to stop talking. She then took her seat and sat there quietly for at least three minutes before the room quieted,” could be coded specifically as “Wilson-requesting quiet.” The code will probably serve you better, however, if abstracted to “controlling students” or “keeping order” or a number

of other codes, depending upon your research purposes. The point is that your code is a *category* of activity of which the piece coded is an example.

Saldaña (2009) suggests “The Touch Test,” as “a strategy for progressing from topic to concept, from the real to the abstract, and from the particular to the general” (p. 187). If you can touch the aspect that is coded—for example, *tattoos*—then ask yourself, “What is the larger concept or phenomenon or process that *tattoo* is part of that cannot be touched?” It might be *adornment* or *body art* or, perhaps, *making a statement*, depending upon the context of the research. The intent of Saldaña’s touch test is to help you figure out the concepts of which your coded data are a part.

Line-by-line coding is a way to get started, but you do not necessarily have to code every piece of data this way. Saldaña’s text *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Research* (2009), the text that I draw upon heavily in this section, is full of ways to approach coding. As Saldaña states, the approaches or coding methods “are not discrete and . . . can be ‘mixed and matched’” (p. 47). Although touching upon several here, I recommend Saldaña’s book for more suggestions.

One useful coding approach is *domain* or *taxonomic* coding. Derived from the work of Spradley (1979) in cognitive anthropology, this method attempts to get at how participants categorize and talk about some aspect of their culture. Specific kinds of interview questions may accompany this approach in that the researcher may have asked interviewees to elaborate on *ways to* (means), *kinds of* (inclusion/exclusion), *steps of* (sequence), and so on regarding aspects of the research topic. You do not have to have asked these specific questions to use this approach in coding data. Rather, ask questions of the data you have that would lead to categorizing types of, causes of, consequences of, attitudes toward, strategies for, and so forth that interviewees discussed or that you saw in your observations. In the example above, Ms. Wilson’s request and subsequent waiting may have been construed as a strategy for controlling students. Coding this line would then lead you to look for other *types of* controlling strategies Ms. Wilson used, as well as types of controlling strategies used by other teachers.

Taxonomic coding helps you find patterns in human speech and behavior. “Controlling” becomes a coding category for varied examples of actions and speech. As Saldaña (2009) states, “When you search for patterns in coded data to categorize them, understand that sometimes you may group things together not just because they are exactly alike or very much alike, but because they might also have something in common—even if, paradoxically, that commonality consists of differences” (p. 6). Teachers’ attitudes toward and actions in controlling students, for example, may be quite different, but all could be coded as “types of control.”

Another coding approach is to become attuned to the words participants use to talk about their lives, communities, organizations, and so on. Referred to as *in vivo* or *indigenous* codes, these terms may be particularly colorful or metaphoric or words used differently than as they are generally used. For example, in the museum study, I began noting and then coding the metaphors participants used to describe their campus art museum: the museum as a “gem,” a “treasure,” a “library,” a “bubbling cauldron of ideas,” and so forth. In doing so, I started to perceive patterns in where these metaphors occurred. For example, *gem* and *treasure* were frequently used at one site but not at another. I could then begin

thinking (and memoing) about how different metaphors might imply different expectations and kinds of interactions at the various art museums.

Another type of coding to consider is *emotions coding*. “Emotion Codes label the emotions recalled and/or experienced by the participant, or inferred by the researcher about the participant” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 86). Such codes become linked with particular actions or behavior in the study. Saldaña (2009) uses the example of a study of divorce and the emotions linked to different stages and procedures within the divorce process.

Remember that you mix these and other coding methods as you work your way through your data. These approaches are heuristics to help you delve into the coding process and to find what works best for you and your research purposes.

Creating a Codebook

After coding several interview transcripts and observational notes, make a list of the codes you have generated. Can you arrange them into major categories and subcategories? Do some codes appear to be nearly the same and could be combined? Do some codes cover large categories that perhaps should be split into two or more codes? You may find that the same subcode appears under several major codes. This may indicate a theme that runs throughout the work. Look for its presence or absence under other major headings. If absent, should it be there?

After reworking your coding scheme, try it out on the same documents coded previously to see how it fits. Revise as needed, and then try it on another transcript and some more observation notes. What new codes are added? Be overgenerous in judging what is important to code; you do not want to foreclose any opportunity to learn from the field by prematurely settling on what is or is not relevant to you. Go back and forth like this until you are no longer adding substantially more codes, realizing that as you continue to code, you will likely add more—sending you back to look for other expressions of that code in previous parts of your text.

When comfortable with your codes, make a **codebook**. Give each major code its own page. Below the major code, list each subcode (and sub-subcodes) with an explanation of each. Writing the explanation will help to keep you from what Gibbs (2007) refers to as “definitional drift,” in which the material you coded earlier is slightly different in meaning from the material you code at a different time. For example, in my work with young people in Oaxaca, *resisting* was one of my early codes. I defined it as forms of speech or actions that demonstrate disagreement with governmental rules or policies. As my work progressed, my application of *resisting* as a coding category became more complex and began overlapping with a category I called *maintaining indigenous autonomy*. I had to rethink my resisting code and its definition.

The codebook is highly personal, meant to fit you; it need not be useful or clear to anyone else. Although there may be common features and a common intent to everyone’s data analysis process, it remains, in the end, an idiosyncratic enterprise. No one right coding scheme exists. The proof of your coding scheme is in the pudding of your manuscript. The sense your manuscript makes, how useful it is and how well it reads depend, in large part, on your data analysis. If your

process is not producing any “ah ha’s” or moments of excitement as you realize some new understandings, then it probably is not yet a good coding scheme.

Figure 7.3 is an example of code development taken from the academic art museum study, sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. The “First Coding” column shows my first generation of codes as I worked my way through an interview. After coding several interviews this way, I worked to categorize and

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT WITH ATHLETICS FACULTY MEMBER	FIRST CODING	LATER CODING
We work with the library and the School of Education to create learning communities.	Working across disciplines	Collaborating (a) Across disciplines
I have the philosophy that the more people we can introduce students to the more comfortable they feel in asking for help. We came to the museum the first time on a Monday when the museum was closed to the public. The vast majority of the students had never been in a museum. We went to the print room and to the museum library and talked about how to act in these spaces, how to use these spaces.	Introducing students to art museums (a) Getting help (b) Learning to use new spaces	Getting people “in the door” (a) Students
On Tuesday, we had a facilitated tour of the museum and then broke up into small groups. Each group sat in front of a piece of art, talked about it, and then presented to the larger group. On Wednesday, we turned the students loose in the museum with one directive—look around, find something you connect with, and write down notes on it.	Touring Talking/thinking about art	Using art in the curriculum (a) Observing art and practicing skills
The museum staff was incredible. Maybe 10–12 staff members turned out to talk with students and help them out.	Interacting with museum staff	Collaborating (b) Faculty/museum staff co-teaching
Students then were to go home and write 150 words on the piece, what we called the “art minute.” They had been asked to go to several different sources to find an interesting fact about the piece.	Art assignment	Using art in the curriculum (b) Researching
We invited coaches and museum staff, and each student stood in front of his piece and read his art minute. It was good practice for a speech course they have to take and for being athletes.	Inviting others into the museum Connecting to other disciplines	Getting people “in the door” (b) Faculty/staff

FIGURE 7.3 Example of Code Development

subcategorize my codes. With a codebook created, I recoded the interviews as demonstrated in the “Later Coding” column. This interview excerpt spawned concepts segregated into three major coding categories: *collaborating*, *getting people “in the door,”* and *using art in the curriculum*.

Putting Codes to Work

Saldaña (2009) refers to the process of working with codes to understand the relationships among them and to develop themes and theoretical organization as the “second cycle” of code work. One of the techniques he describes is “codeweaving,” in which you lay out all your codes and then write several sentences, using all of your code words to express the patterns and categories you perceive. Then, take the codes and write different statements, pushing yourself to go beyond your first way of thinking about how items might interrelate.

Physically manipulating data can also be helpful for perceiving relationships, interrelationships, and patterns. Make a copy of coded data, cut the coded chunks apart, group according to code, and staple or paper clip all data bits with the same code together. Label each pile with a sticky note bearing the code name. As done prior to computerized assistance, this process allows you to see that some clumps of codes are much larger than others and perhaps need to be subdivided, while other thinner clumps perhaps need to be combined in some way. In addition to considering ways to split or lump coded categories, Saldaña (2009) suggests that you physically arrange the category piles in a variety of ways and make analytical comments on each arrangement. You might begin, for example, with arranging by thickness of coded chunks and then move on to more complex ways that “suggest a process of influences and affects” (p. 188).

In this second cycle of code work, your codes are the starting point from which you go on to “look for patterns, make comparisons, produce explanations and build models” (Gibbs, 2007, p. 78). Your codes create a framework of relational categories. For example, perhaps you coded one clump of data as “consequences of a required science program.” As you read through that clump of coded data, you notice that recently hired teachers use the science program differently than teachers who had been at the school for a number of years. You then begin looking at other coded chunks for possible differences among new and longtime teachers. You begin to see ways in which things that you had not put together before may fit.

In addition to analyzing relationships among your coded data, it also helps to look for what was not said or demonstrated in some way. What kinds of things appeared to be taken for granted or were simply not discussed? Can you raise questions about why some topics or perspectives (e.g., race, gender, class) might be ignored? As Gibbs (2007) states:

There are many examples of poor student work—and published work—that . . . are simply organized as a description or summary of each of the main themes found in the data You need to go beyond this. Re-examine the data and find phenomena that are not necessarily immediately obvious from what is being said or done. (p. 145)

The coding, categorizing, and theme-searching process is a time when you think with your data, reflecting upon what you have learned, making new connections, gaining new insights, and imagining how the final write-up will appear. Let's hear from Marleen again:

I now have a regulation codebook complete with several major codes and subcodes . . . and I see already, in the process of coding, how they stretch out and then collapse and then multiply again as you complete more and more of the analysis. I also realize that you never really are in a pure mode of coding. It's a very strange dynamic. You find yourself in the midst of what seems to be a very technical process—drawing brackets, locating the subcode, moving through the pages—and then you find yourself needing to write down some narrative to anchor a set of thoughts you didn't have before, or to pin down a new way of thinking about something. A good example for me is how the teachers talk about their own language learning capacity . . . these dialogues suddenly seemed much more important than I ever would have imagined when I was in Havens (the now official pseudonym). And they have their own rhythm, a rhythm I didn't know was there before. This is when I know things are going well. (Personal correspondence, May 3, 1994)

The art of data transformation is in combining the more mundane organizational tasks with insight and thoughtful interpretations.

Be sure to write down those moments of insight. Saldaña (2009) states, "Your private and personal written musings before, during, and about the entire enterprise is a question-raising, puzzle-piecing, connection-making, strategy-building, problem-solving, answer-generating, rising-above-the data heuristic" (p. 32). No matter what the stage of the research, keep that field notebook handy.

After hours of fieldwork, Andrea undertook the coding/analysis process for the first time and reflected upon it here. In her descriptive portrayal, you may see your own struggles, achievements, and realizations.

I approached my first attempt at coding with the vivid analogy of being in "the code mines" in mind. Beginning the process was indeed like preparing to descend into a mineshaft. The thought of dropping into the dark, cold abyss of interviews and countless reflections made me shrink from the task. Perhaps, in the lightless confusion of data, I would not be able to sort out any meaning to it all. Perhaps, after seven months of collection, I would find no gold nuggets of wisdom in the walls of my code mines. Perhaps, like the miner, I needed to better prepare myself for entering the bowels of my notebooks and field logs.

Hence I consciously entered into a series of avoidance tactics that kept me in the light of day as yet another week flew by. I finished transcribing my last three tapes. I backed up my disk. I reorganized my files. I considered reflecting more on my previous reflections. I kept a fire going in the wood stove to ward off the cold I constantly felt in my bones.

Finally, the day came. I could put it off no longer; indeed, I was dreadfully remiss in waiting so long. I approached my first-semester notebook of interviews with images of Tolkien's Bilbo Baggins approaching the cave of Gollum. I must

retrieve the precious ring, or never return to class and Professor Gandolf. I laid open my first interview next to my new, brightly colored coding notebook.

Anticipation far exceeds the event in the exploration of the unknown. Three pages of codes flowed from my pen from the first interview. They were familiar words, words repeated on paper, on tape, and in my mind throughout my whole study. Like the Hobbit with his ring on, I disappeared into my interviews for hours.

After the initial showering of codes, each interview added fewer to my list. That was comforting. I had a sense that the list would be manageable. The second interview added only one page of new codes, the third a half page. After that, each interview produced one new code and usually elaboration or clarification on some previous codes. Before I was done, the maze of words began organizing themselves in my mind. I flipped to a clean page and began jotting down umbrella phrases to collect subcodes under.

I am no longer a Pennsylvania coal miner dreading my life's work. I am no longer the Hobbit with but one precious ring. Today I am Smog the dragon sitting upon a mountain of jewels, stolen from my interviews. They lie, however, disheveled beneath me and hard to account for. So today my task is to organize my treasures that I might know what I have before I go on. The task is a bit easier because I made some notes as I was coding. I began clumping my codes into broader categories. They fall into neat piles, with only a few exceptions. These I place temporarily aside until I can consult with my fellow researchers. So ends, for me, the dreaded imagery of life-threatening mineshafts. I have much real work ahead, but I have dealt with the anxiety of passing the test.

DISPLAYING DATA

Miles and Huberman (1994) created a comprehensive text on using data display in the analysis of qualitative work. They describe data display as "an organized assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action taking" (p. 11). Making an analogy to "you are what you eat," they claim, "you know what you display" (p. 11). Matrices, graphs, flowcharts, and other sorts of visual representations assist in making meaning of data, as well as in exposing gaps or areas where more data are needed. Data display can be, therefore, another ongoing feature of qualitative inquiry. You may find working with visual representations useful throughout the process, from creating a research statement to writing up the study.

Data displays help to identify concepts, processes, and relationships within a study. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest creating diagrams that reflect some risk, such as one-directional arrows to indicate potential cause and effect. Doing so forces you to theorize about the social phenomenon under study. Figure 7.4 is an example of a thematic data display by Penny Bishop (1998, p. 171). She created the diagram as a way to help her understand and present the major concepts evolving through her inquiry into effective partner team teaching in middle schools.

Data display provides the skeleton of some aspect of work. Just as observing Earth from a satellite allows you to see the overall pattern of geologic structures and human adaptations to these structures, data displays help you to see an overall pattern in your research without getting lost in details.

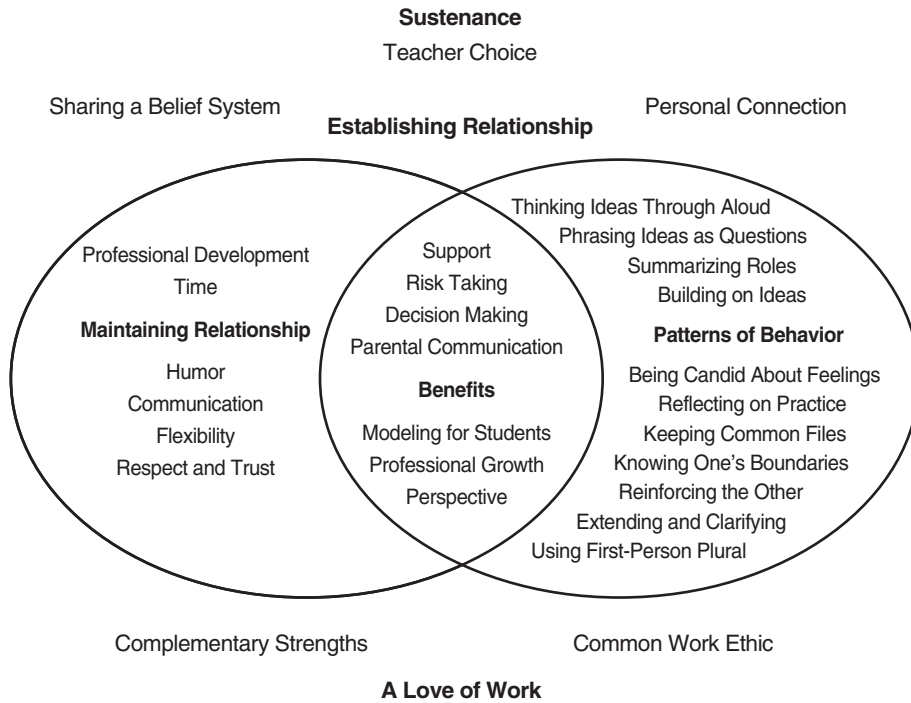


FIGURE 7.4 The Relational Work of Partner Teaming

Source: From P. Bishop. (1998). *Portraits of Partnership: The Relational Work of Effective Middle Level Partner Teachers* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Vermont, Burlington.

When analyzing your data through displays, experiment with a variety of forms. Tables provide detail, but bar and line graphs often portray patterns more vividly. If you are comparing two or more groups over time, line graphs are particularly useful. Matrices that use symbols such as + and 0 rather than numbers can aid you in uncovering patterns. For example, if investigating perceived constraints to effective education in six rural schools, you might, after a round of interviews, develop a table similar to Table 7.1.

With the table before you, you would look for patterns and begin to form hunches about what was going on, using your knowledge of each rural town and school. You would notice that schools 2, 3, and 5 all perceive their tax base as a problem, but not their communication between school and community. Schools 1, 4, and 6 are just the opposite. Returning to your data, you would try to figure out possible explanations. Although the communities are similar in size, you would note that the communities that host schools 1, 4, and 6 have a sizable proportion of nonnatives who have moved to the area in recent years. The communities that host schools 2, 3, and 5 do not. You might then hypothesize that the newcomers are bringing more money into the towns and, along with it, strife in school governance decisions. In reflecting on possible reasons for the pattern of responses in the categories of access

TABLE 7.1 A Matrix Example of Constraints to Effective Education in Six Rural Schools*

SCHOOL	TAX BASE	COMMUNICATION WITH COMMUNITY	STATE POLICY	ACCESS TO INFORMATION	ACCESS TO EXPERTS
1	0	+	+	0	0
2	+	0	+	+	+
3	+	0	+	0	0
4	0	+	+	+	+
5	+	0	+	+	+
6	0	+	+	+	+

*Key: + = perceived as a constraint by school personnel

0 = not perceived as a constraint by school personnel

to information and access to experts, you might wonder whether distance from the state's largest city makes a difference. Developing a new matrix, you would then map your hunches as demonstrated in Table 7.2. Such matrix-forming work serves to suggest new interview questions, different people or sites for investigation, and needed information or documents, as well as to make sense of data already collected.

Taxonomic coding was introduced earlier in this chapter. Appropriately, taxonomies may be used to display cognitive domains or individual classificatory schemes elicited through interviews. For example, Janet Davis (1988) investigated eighth-graders for categories of the cognitive domain she called "things kids do at school." Through interviewing, she found that major categories included picking on other kids, sitting in classes, being nice to teachers, and acting up. Davis went on to investigate subcategories, such as all the ways that kids are "nice to teachers." She then probed for sub-subcategories such as how a student becomes a teacher's pet. These categories, subcategories, and sub-subcategories can then be diagrammed using a taxonomic chart that you may remember from biology class and exemplified in Figure 7.5.

TABLE 7.2 A Matrix Example of Data Patterns and Researcher Hunches Regarding Constraints to Effective Education in Six Rural Schools*

SCHOOL	TAX BASE	COMMUNICATION WITH COMMUNITY	ACCESS TO INFORMATION	ACCESS TO EXPERTS
Native/near city (3)	+	0	0	0
Native/not near city (2, 5)	+	0	+	+
Mixed/near city (1)	0	+	0	0
Mixed/not near city (4, 6)	0	+	+	+

*Key: + = perceived as a constraint by school personnel

0 = not perceived as a constraint by school personnel

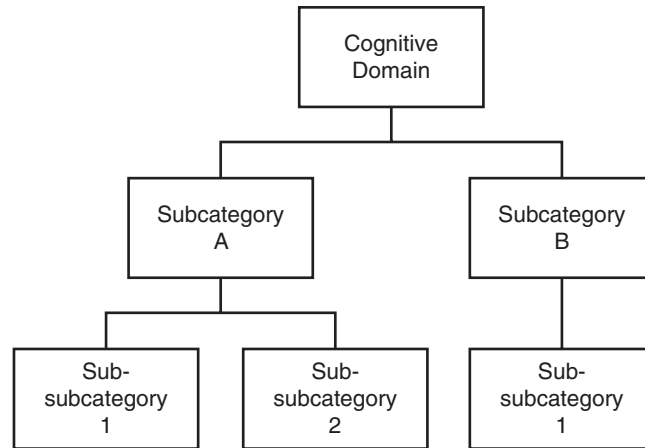


FIGURE 7.5 Taxonomic Chart

As another example, a student investigated the types of undergraduates enrolled at the University of Vermont as defined and categorized by undergraduates. Although the categories were not necessarily mutually exclusive, the interviewer found that according to her interviewees, there were preps, punkers, out-of-staters, Vermonters, granolas, squids, nerds, smarts, intelligents, and jocks. Many of these categories had subcategories, such as both normal and progressive granolas or positive and negative jocks. Such information lent itself to a taxonomic chart (see Figure 7.6) that helped the student know what else she needed to learn from her interviewees about the cognitive domain. She needed to begin asking, for example, if “Smarts” were a kind of “Intelligents,” or vice versa, or were exclusive categories, and she would keep reworking the

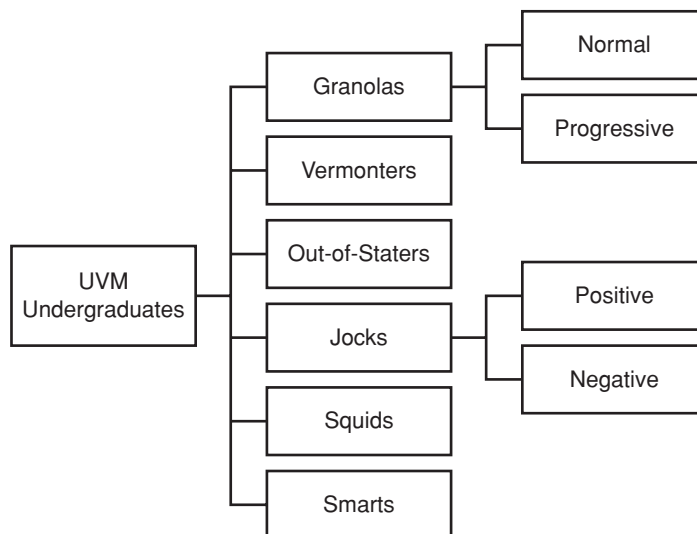


FIGURE 7.6 Partial Taxonomy of the Domain “Kinds of UVM Undergraduates”

TABLE 7.3 Frequency Distribution of Perceived Attitudes toward Working the Land

	POSITIVE ATTITUDES	NEGATIVE ATTITUDES
Town employees	4	21
Agricultural workers	21	29
Other rural people	0	10

taxonomy as she gained better understanding. Eventually, the taxonomy display can be a useful visual to accompany discussions of the domain in the final report.

Mathematics also can be a useful tool in determining patterns in perspectives or behavior. Regarding the use of mathematics, Agar (1980) comments, “One of my favorite wisecracks is to define mathematical anthropology as what happens when anthropologists number their pages” (p. 132). Joking aside, simple frequency counts can help to identify patterns. As Guest, MacQueen, and Namey (2012) note, “Frequency alone cannot tell you the importance of a given theme for answering a particular research question, but it gives a rough outline of the way participants in this sample responded” (p. 137).

Creating matrices can be particularly helpful for identifying patterns through frequency counts. They help you see ways to combine coded categories and, possibly, to expand them or to look for aspects or relationships that you had not considered previously. For example, imagine that you have been inquiring into the attitudes of young people toward agriculture in the rural Caribbean. Through interviews with eighty-five persons, including twenty-five employed in town, fifty working in agriculture, and ten living in rural areas but not working in agriculture, you receive mixed answers to the question “What are the attitudes of young people toward working the land?” Your first frequency distribution (represented by Table 7.3) suggests that young people are not very interested in doing agricultural work. Yet, by listening to and rereading the interviews, you form the hunch that the attitudes are linked to land

TABLE 7.4 Frequency Distribution of Perceived Attitudes toward Working the Land by Dominant Land Tenure Situation of Interviewee

	POSITIVE ATTITUDES	NEGATIVE ATTITUDES
No land worked	0	25
Agricultural laborer	0	13
Works family land	5	5
Shares crop/rent	2	17
Works land rent-free	10	0
Works own land	8	0

tenure. You go back to your interviews and rework the frequency counts, taking into account the relationship of each interviewee to the land. This time your frequency distribution demonstrates a definite pattern in the relationship between attitudes toward agricultural work and land tenure (see Table 7.4). The numbers assist in shaping a more specific hypothesis about attitudes toward farming.

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS SOFTWARE

Qualitative data analysis software (QDAS) has changed drastically since the inception of *The Ethnograph* and *Nud*ist* programs in the mid-1980s, and the software for these programs and others continues to change, allowing more options and procedures. The software was originally designed to help with coding, sorting, and retrieving bits of coded data. This was a big step from the days of photocopying all notes, coding by hand, cutting up and pasting onto cards, and sorting the codes through manipulating the cards. With QDAS, you still develop the codes and assign them to all your data, downloaded into a QDAS program. Once you have done this download (probably more than once, since you will do some recoding), you can use the QDAS to rapidly retrieve coded chunks of data. You can then read all like-coded pieces together and further clump or split the codes. The software can create visual representations of your coded hierarchies (main codes, subcodes, sub-subcodes) and allows you to manipulate these codes, collapsing, expanding, and recoding sections as perceived best. You can play with associations within or among codes. For example, you can select one coded chunk and see what patterns emerge if it is further sorted by a specific interviewee characteristic (such as gender or age or ethnicity or geographical location). The computerized speed allows you to sort and try out hunches to a much greater degree than is possible manually.

QDAS also can do various kinds of searches such as “where particular codes co-occur, over-lap, appear in a sequence, or lie in proximity to each other” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 26). These searches may suggest relationships or patterns that would not be easily perceived otherwise. QDAS assists in creating charts, clusters, and tree or taxonomic maps that can help you to develop theoretical propositions from the data. Some users assert that QDAS programs encourage greater rigor because they more easily show negative cases and the places where coded chunks of data do not appear that might be ignored otherwise (Seale, 2002). The software also can force you to carefully work through your data in ways you might not without it prompting you.

Current QDAS programs tend to offer similar features. They have facilities for managing large amounts of data; for coding, sorting, and retrieving data according to selected codes; for exploring relationships among codes and building theoretical propositions; and for displaying data in a variety of ways. They also can integrate forms of data other than text (such as video and sound files) into these procedures.

If you decide that you want to use QDAS, then your choice of which program to use will need a bit of research. What is its cost and what can you afford? Does your university have a user license for a particular program that would eliminate your need to purchase it? Is it compatible with your computer? How much time will it take you to learn to use it (and do you have that time)? Do the appearance and procedures for using one program appeal to you more than another? You can try out many programs by going to websites and downloading demonstration files. Read reviews of QDAS programs on the Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) Networking Project website hosted by the University of Surrey, or go to a qualitative discussion group site and make inquiries about programs others have found useful on projects similar to yours. The names of some QDAS programs are ATLAS.ti, The Ethnograph, HyperRESEARCH, MAXQDA, NVivo, QDA Miner, and Qualrus. As Guest et al. (2012) state, "The number of researcher-designed . . . software programs for qualitative data analysis continues to grow, offering a variety of choices with a dizzying array of accompanying features" (p. 217).

Despite the powerful assistance that QDAS can be, the programs remain tools. Some people unfamiliar with QDAS think that the right software will develop and apply research codes to their data and pull out major themes. This is not the case. You remain the decision maker and interpreter. You need to be intimate with the data in order to know what to ask the software to do. As with conducting an interview or taking fieldnotes, the effectiveness of computerized programs depends upon the skill of the operator.

Should you try to use QDAS in your research? Gibbs (2007) responds, "Of course, you don't have to use software at all. For most of the last century, those undertaking qualitative analysis did not or could not use software. Most of the classic studies using qualitative research were undertaken without electronic assistance" (p. 40). In addition, QDAS may be inappropriate for the way in which you want to analyze your data. You may want to take more of a narrative approach, for example, than one that focuses on segregating the data into themes and patterns. The focus on coding and manipulating segregated bits of data would cause you to lose sight of the contexts in which the data were generated. Furthermore, the time involved in learning how to use the software may overshadow any advantages the program could provide, particularly if your database is not large and was generated by only a few participants. Keep these caveats in mind as you make your decision. If you are doing a large project with lots of interviewees and want to analyze thematically, then QDAS would probably be useful. If you are doing oral history with a few respondents or are representing data creatively (see Chapter 9), a code and retrieve program is unlikely to be the right choice. The way you choose to analyze your data needs to fit with your research questions, methodology, sets of data, and theoretical predispositions.

In summary, the computer is a tool that can help make the researcher's work less tedious, faster, and more accurate and thorough. It does not, however, think for the researcher. The researcher decides what to enter into the computer, what

to ask it to do, and how to use the results of a program's manipulations. The products of QDAS are only as good as the data, the thinking, and the level of care that went into them.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

If you can't explain your theory to a bartender, it's probably no good.
(Astrophysicist Ernest Rutherford quoted in Roorbach, 1998, p. 53)

Qualitative researchers use techniques such as coding, data displays, and software programs to help organize, classify, and find patterns in their data, but they still must find ways to make and present connections that are ultimately meaningful to themselves and readers. In his text *Transforming Qualitative Data* (1994), Wolcott discusses *description*, *analysis*, and *interpretation* as three means of data transformation, or of moving from organization to meaning. Description involves staying close to the data as originally recorded. You draw heavily on fieldnotes and interview transcripts, allowing the data to somewhat "speak for themselves" (p. 10). This approach answers the question, "What is going on here?" (p. 12) with narratives that select and portray details that resonate with the study's purposes.

Furney (1997) researched the implementation of special education reform in several elementary public schools. She includes descriptions throughout her text as one means to convey aspects of her cross-case analysis. The following example is from observations of Instructional Support Team (IST) meetings:

Balancing their lunch trays on their knees (somehow that cafeteria smell of hot dogs, applesauce, and lukewarm milk never changes in schools), Andy and Danielle describe the positive things that have happened for Kevin over the last week. They tell us about the points he's earned for using good language, his recent triumph over a classmate in a computer game, and how they and Kevin resolved an issue on the playground. Kevin describes his recent trip to the Woolworth store in town where he and his friend George perused the aisles looking for ways that Kevin could spend the money he has been earning restocking the soda machines in the teacher's room at school. (p. 97)

Furney's narrative includes carefully chosen details to place the reader in the context of an IST meeting in one of the schools.

Wolcott (1994) describes *analysis* as a second category of data transformation. Analysis, according to Wolcott, is the identification of key factors in the study and the relationships among them. This method typically extends description in a systematic manner. It entails identifying essential features and the ways in which the features interact. Coding schemes, data displays, comparisons to a standard, and other means of identifying patterned regularities are all useful in the analysis category of data transformation. The use of the term *analysis* is a bit confusing here since researchers (myself included) often refer to description, finding patterns, and interpretation as data *analysis*, rather than data transformation. Nonetheless,

Wolcott's (1994) discussion is useful for thinking about ways to make connections among data.

Furney's (1997) study provides many examples of analysis (as described by Wolcott):

The evolution of the Instructional Support Teams (ISTs) in the three schools raises some interesting points. On the one hand, the three principals spoke during the original and follow-up interviews about the positive aspects of naturally occurring collaborative structures that appeared to lessen the need for the more formal IST structure. On the other hand, they viewed the somewhat more formalized versions of their ISTs that had evolved over time as being necessary and generally positive. (p. 142)

This consideration of the principals' views of instructional support teams moves away from description toward identification of patterns or trends in the data.

Interpretation is Wolcott's (1994) third means of data transformation. He notes that interpretation occurs when the researcher "transcends factual data and cautious analysis and begins to probe into what is to be made of them" (p. 36). He discusses several strategies for data interpretation, including using theory to provide structure, connecting with personal experience, and exploring alternative means of presenting data.

Once more, Furney's (1997) research provides an example of this mode of data transformation:

In brief then, the schools in this study of Act 230 have helped to confirm my belief that caring for students should constitute the central purpose of education and guide its efforts to change. . . . In placing students at the center of the agenda for school reform, a host of related changes become apparent. The challenge to care for students implies an agenda to promote social justice and deal with issues of diversity. . . . Placing care at the center of a school also seems to require the establishment of a form of leadership that is both visionary and participatory, and creates a sense of shared responsibility and an openness to change. (pp. 174–175)

In this example, Furney moves beyond description and analysis to probe into the framework of caring. As she asserts the role of caring as the central purpose of education, she presents an interpretation of her findings.

Notice in the above examples that Furney keeps her comments linked to the schools in her study. Much has been written about the inability of using qualitative research for generalizations beyond the group or settings studied. For example, perhaps your study included interviews and observations with ten Caucasian teachers and ten African American teachers, and through data analysis, you uncovered different patterns in these teachers' perceptions of their experiences that followed skin-color groupings. As a result of your work, you can propose hypotheses about what might be happening for a larger population, but you may not claim that "Caucasian teachers experience x , while African American teachers experience y ." You can say, however, that such and such were the patterns in your

study. Make clear, however, the population from which you are making your claims, and be as specific as possible. To change “three out of ten” to “33 percent” is neither meaningful nor appropriate for qualitative work. Remember that your purpose is elucidating the range of possibilities and transforming your data into a useful form that communicates the promise of your findings.

In *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* (2002), Holliday includes a diagram labeled “From Data to Text” (p. 100). In the diagram, data move from “rationalized sections of messy reality” to “thematic organization of data” to “text of data analysis section or chapter.” The diagram traces the distancing of data from “reality.” Distancing from reality is a problem for some, who argue that data should be presented in as natural a state as possible. No matter what type of (or how much) analysis you choose to do, data, in any form, are already distanced from and different from the social reality from which they were taken. Few readers are interested in wading through reams of raw data from a research project. Analysis, making data sensible and accessible, is an important part of the researcher’s job. Data transformation is the prelude to trustworthy outcomes that describe, make connections, and contribute to greater understanding or, at the least, more informed questioning. It is to the trustworthiness and limitations of interpretations we now turn.

TRUSTWORTHINESS AND LIMITATIONS

The words, descriptions, and thoughts produced through research are not inherently meaningful in themselves. Rather, you make them meaningful through analysis and interpretations. As Tomas Schram (2006) states, “The communication of this meaning through your interpretation is always negotiable and incomplete. In the end, it is a matter of how plausible your ideas appear to others, and how persuasively you make your case for their significance” (p. 13). In an article on James Agee, author of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, John Hersey (1988) concludes with a quotation from Mrs. Burroughs, a woman from one of the tenant families portrayed in Agee’s book: “And I took it home and I read it plumb through. And when I read it plumb through I gave it back to her and I said, ‘Well everything in there’s true. What they wrote in there was true’” (p. 74). James Agee would have been pleased to learn that Mrs. Burroughs affirmed his interpretations of her life. You want your interpretations to be trustworthy, to be affirmed by the Mrs. Burroughses in your research lives and also by your colleagues and others who may use your work in the range of ways that trusted outcomes can be used: to describe, confirm, expand, questions, and inform.

How Do You Know That Your Interpretation Is the Right One?

As has been said more than once, no one right way exists to make sense of your data. Data analysis is an interpretive act. You can, however, take several steps to make your interpretations trustworthy. Revisit the discussion of trustworthiness

in Chapter 5, and re-ask of your analyses the questions: What did you notice? Why did you notice what you noticed? How did you interpret what you noticed? Hollway and Jefferson (2000) asked one more question: “How can you know that your interpretation is the ‘right’ one?” (p. 55).

This fourth question suggests the enlistment of others to obtain their perspectives on your interpretations and to provide feedback. Share the interpretive process with research participants as a form of *member checking*. Obtaining the reactions of research participants to your working drafts is time-consuming, but doing so may verify that you have reflected their perspectives; inform you of sections that, if published, could be problematic for either personal or political reasons; and help you develop new ideas and interpretations.

Sometimes member checking is taken to mean that every transcript must be returned to each interviewee to review. Van den Hoonaard and van den Hoonaard (2013) critique the effectiveness of doing so in that member checking transcripts asks participants to give even more of their time; written words are different from spoken words, and participants may find their transcripts awkward and embarrassing; and “member checking inadvertently misrepresents the research to the interview participant. Research is about a whole slew of interviews, and the researcher is seeking patterns involving the culling of selected materials from interviews” (p. 109). Asking respondents to review pages of transcript can give the impression that much of what they say will be in the final report. Instead of transcripts, consider sharing a draft of the report or the portion of the draft in which a person’s words appear. Ask if you got correctly his or her responses and interpreted them in a useful way in the context of the report. Then, ask if they have any other interpretations or suggestions for what has been written so far.

When Penny compiled her participant-observation notes into a “day-in-the-life” of an effective, middle-level partner team, she shared the initial draft with team members. They reflected on the accuracy of the depiction, as well as noted patterns of behavior of which they were previously unaware. In her fieldnotes, Penny wrote:

I’m glad I took the opportunity to share my writing with Liza and Hope. They really helped me feel confident that my perceptions of their relational work are an accurate representation by their standards as well. I think they got something out of it, too, as they laughingly noticed their tendency to phrase ideas as questions, to unconsciously rotate the facilitation of class discussion, to be up-front about concerns, and to finish one another’s sentences.

By sharing working drafts, both researcher and researched may grow in their interpretations of the phenomena central to the inquiry.

To assist in your interpretations, do not forget the invaluable assistance of friends and colleagues through *peer review*. Ask them to work with portions of your data—developing codes, applying your codes, or interpreting fieldnotes to widen your perceptions. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a procedure for enlisting an outsider to *audit* fieldwork notes and subsequent analysis and interpretations. For students working on theses and dissertations, your committee members

are logical auditors of your work. I ask students to keep three-ringed notebooks for copies of all their data, fieldnotes, and data-gathering and analysis techniques, tabulated and with a detailed table of contents as described in Appendix B: Maintaining a Fieldwork Notebook. This fieldwork notebook becomes an audit trail that shows all versions of research questions, interview questions, coding schemes, and so on. The idea behind creating an audit trail is that you can show the data and procedures from your fieldwork to anyone who questions how you arrived at your conclusions. Developing such inclusive notebooks not only makes fieldwork audits easy but also enforces a kind of organizational process that assists in dealing with data management.

Remember, however, that most likely you have promised confidentiality to research participants and would not want to make your audit trail public, even with all names changed. Nor, most likely, would most people be interested in your thick files of coded interview transcripts and observations. Committee members may insist, however, and if you are in the habit of organizing your work as you go, it will be easy to present it to them.

The question “How can you know your interpretation is the right one?” is also a kind of trick question. No *right* interpretation exists. Any kind of social interaction can be examined from multiple frameworks, including frameworks for which you may have no developed conceptual understanding. This question invites you to consider the theories you use to interpret what you notice. Analyzing work from more than one framework (*theoretical triangulation*) can extend interpretations, pose new questions, and highlight the incompleteness of any one analytic framework and interpretation. Unraveling multiple interpretations is what makes qualitative work particularly fascinating and potentially useful as you come to understand in new ways, and help others to do so as well.

Delimitations and Limitations

Part of addressing the trustworthiness of data is to realize both the *delimitations* and the *limitations* of your study. The delimitations or the scope of inquiry clearly sets research boundaries. This includes stating what you are *not* doing, such as the possibly relevant literature you are not reviewing (and why not); the possibly useful groups of people you are not including in the research (and why not); and reasonably expected research methods—for example, observations—you are not using (and why not). No study can do everything. The delimitations describe why you have set the boundaries you have. For example, when writing up the academic art museum study (Glesne, 2013), I integrated delimitations into the introduction as follows:

The study could not address everything associated with campus art museums. It did not, for example, focus on the development and use of exhibitions, care of collections, use of technology, strategic planning for the future, why some students and faculty do not use the museum, etc. Rather, we sought to describe the overall impact of the exemplary campus art museum on the people who make use of them. We settled on four research questions. (pp. 11–12)

In contrast to the delimitations over which you have choice and some control, limitations are aspects that limited the research in some way but were beyond your control or perceived only in hindsight. Your responsibility is to do the best that you can under the circumstances. Detailing the limiting circumstances helps readers to understand the nature of your data. Discuss what documents, people, or places were unavailable to you. Discuss what is peculiar about your site or respondent selection that could illuminate the phenomena of interest in a particular way. How did time constrain your work or, perhaps, your data analysis procedures? You need not approach the limitations section as the place to point out everything that could be better in your study; every study could be better in a number of ways. Rather, approach the description of your study's limitations as part of setting the context. Limitations are consistent with the partial state of knowing in social research, and clarifying your limitations helps readers know how they should read and interpret your work. You also can discuss delimitations and limitations in such a way as to suggest ideas for future research that would build upon the work you have done.

CONSIDERATIONS

In Yaqui to be *kia polove* is to be without desire for “things.” There is no concept of “poor” for a noncomparative, communal society. A Yaqui is only poor when he deals with the whites or the Mexicans.

(Véa, 1993, p. 31)

After eight hours on a bus traversing twisting roads that steadily climbed, my friend Patricia and I arrived in Hautla, a village spread out along a mountainous ridge in northern Oaxaca. We journeyed there as a break from our respective research projects, both of us visiting the area for the first time. The next day, we walked along mountainous roads and paths with vistas looking out over layers of the Sierra Norte. By the time we returned to town, it was almost dark and past the hour when cafés served the light meal normally eaten in the evenings in Oaxaca. We were hungry, though, and finally found an Internet café where we could get Oaxacan hot chocolate, foamy and thick, and tortillas with cheese.

The café proprietor took our order, brought our food, and asked if he could sit with us. As we talked, we learned that he was also the principal of the local high school. Unable to leave my research behind, I began forming a question. Intrigued by how the young people with whom I was working were involved in some way in improving aspects of their communities' environments, I asked him to describe the attitudes of young people in Hautla toward the environment. He paused and then replied, “We don't really talk of the environment here but rather of *harmony*.” He went on to describe harmony as a connection among all things, including those not seen. Each field, tree, rock, and river had a *dueño*, or guardian, and traditionally people made offerings to the *dueños* before cutting a tree or removing a rock, aware of the possibilities of offending some entity and suffering consequences.

His sentence—"We don't really talk of the environment but rather of *harmony*"—shattered my assumed categories. Even though I had heard people talk about nature spirits before, even though I had read about the importance of *harmony* in Oaxaca, and even though a shaman had revealed to me my *naguas*, or nature allies, I had kept assigning what I was reading and hearing and experiencing to my Western-formed categories of people, animals, environment, religion/spirituality, and so on. The principal's sentence finally fragmented my classifications. They ran together, blending, mixing, and muddying my view. I know that I do not yet fully understand the concept of *harmony* the way many in Oaxaca do, but I know better some of my own myths of perception. And although I continue to fall back on my old categories, I know they are artificial. I've seen and felt something different.

The process of categorization is both a strength and a problem of data analysis. We categorize to make sense of things, to help us see patterns in social interaction. We need categories to develop hunches, hypotheses, and theories. Even though we may look for "native language" and consciously try to get at the groupings others hold in their heads, we can't fully escape the categories to which we have been socialized. I think that ethnographic work is particularly useful, however, when we can begin to reorder the world into categories that are not our own. As qualitative researchers, we often say we want to get at multiple perspectives, but less frequently do we challenge our frameworks for expressing these perspectives. Doing so widens the horizons for experiencing life around us while demonstrating more fully how knowledge is socially constructed and always partial in its power to describe or explain.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
 Gibbs, G. (2007). *Analyzing qualitative data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
 Grbich, C. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
 Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
 Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

EXERCISES

Class Exercises

1. Saldaña includes coding and analytic exercises in his text, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2009, pp. 193–195). The following three exercises are his, summarized and somewhat reworded:
 - a. *What we carry*. As a classroom activity, empty your backpack, purse, wallet, or briefcase. Take all of your items and organize them in some way. Give each pile a category name. Then, see if you can reorganize in another way. Does one organizational scheme make more analytical sense than the other? What do these categories say about you?

- b. *How we create order through patterns.* This is an activity to do together with classmates. You might stay in your classroom or split into small groups and seek out different closeby venues. Grab your notebook and pen. Take some assigned period of time (maybe twenty minutes) and walk around your space, jotting down all the patterns you can observe. Is there a pattern in the wall tiles, for example, or in the flooring? What about patterns in seat arrangements or in window spacing? After you have noted as many patterns as possible, organize your list into different categories so that you have a “pattern of patterns” (Saldaña 2009, p. 194). You might have, for example, decorative patterns or functional patterns or organizational patterns. With each larger pattern category, write a “codebook” descriptive sentence or two about what that category means to you and is intended to include/exclude.
 - c. *What our clothing says.* Plan with classmates to wear T-shirts to the next class. At that class, grab your notebook and pen and wander around each other, noting information about each other’s shirt. Create a list of codes for categorizing the information. You might look, for example, for *Attribute Codes* (Saldaña, 2009, p. 194) and gather data from labels. What is the fabric composition? Where was the shirt manufactured? How is one to care for (wash and dry) the shirt? You might focus on *Magnitude Codes* (Saldaña, 2009, p. 194) and look for the sizes of the shirts. How is the size labeled? What symbols are used (letters or numbers)? Look for *In Vivo* (Saldaña, 2009, p. 194) codes. What are the shirts saying literally in words or metaphorically in images? Can you cluster T-shirts and their wearers into several different groups based on the kinds of messages coming across on their shirts? How does this clustering assign particular values, attitudes, or concerns to each group?
2. This suggestion comes from Duncan Waite (2011), who uses decks of playing cards in his qualitative research courses as described in an article published in *Qualitative Inquiry*. You each begin with a deck of cards with all the cards preshuffled, including jokers and information cards. Independently, sort your cards without talking. Think of the cards as a set of data to which you need to bring some order. After one sort has been completed, note the ways in which classmates have sorted their cards, and then sort your cards in a different way, again with no talking. According to Waite, the second sort is usually more creative than the first. Share why you sorted the cards as you did. This explanation can lead into a discussion of *tacit* theory, the common-sense notions that are held about how to sort cards (same suits or same numbers belong together), as well as the *explicit* theories some may use (sorting according to phone numbers of family and friends). Discuss what was done with outliers (jokers, instructions) and how the data that were different were accounted for.
3. Return to the class *research practice* exercise (Chapters 2 and 4). With interview transcripts in hand, create a codebook for the class interviews. Begin in small groups, agreeing on major and minor codes. Then, as a whole class, look at the ways each small group coded the interviews. Discuss the different kinds of stories each coding scheme might tell. Eventually, come to an agreement on a class coding scheme. Then code, with the class coding scheme, the interview that you conducted.
4. Take the coded interviews from the above practice exercise. Cut and sort by major codes. Divide the class into small groups, with each group receiving data from one or more major code(s). Groups then work with their coded data: Sort by minor

codes, perhaps split and lump codes, and look for patterns, relationships, and further categorizations. Make note of analytical findings. Hold onto these clumps of coded data for a future exercise.

Individual Exercises

1. Now that you have an overall view of thematic analysis, consider designing a study on the same topic as you've chosen but using a different methodology or theoretical framework (e.g., phenomenology, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis). Read up on another approach, and then reflect upon how each of the following might differ from your currently designed study: study purposes, research question(s), data collection methods, and procedures for analysis.
2. Remember the research diagram you created when working on your research statement? Without looking at it, diagram your research now, incorporating the sense you are making of observations, interviews, and other data. Compare the diagrams. Reflect in your field log on what you have learned about your topic, and note the gaps or questions that remain.
3. Most likely, you have not yet collected all your pilot data (the process of gaining access, scheduling, and collecting data is taking longer than you ever dreamed). Nonetheless, begin with what you have, and try creating your own codebook for the data you have.

CHAPTER 8

Crafting Your Story: Writing Up Qualitative Data

One hopes that one's case will touch others. But how to connect? Not by calculation, I think, not by the assumption that in the pain of my toothache, or my father's, or Harry Crosby's, I have discovered a "universal condition of consciousness." One may merely know that no one is alone and hope that a singular story, as every true story is singular, will in the magic way of some things apply, connect, resonate, touch a major chord.

(Pachter, 1981, p. 72)

Why do we write? The report is, of course, an expected part of what is in store when you sign on as a researcher. Some of you may write because you have to do so, but I suspect that most of you have larger intentions. Writing is not easy. Hours turn into days and days turn into months and months, sometimes into years, and you are still working on the same manuscript. Why would you invest so much time reading, researching, writing, and rewriting? At a basic level, you have observations, insights, and experiences you want to share. But why do you want to share them? What about those nagging voices of self-doubt that mutter, "It's all been said before; nothing you say is really new. Who are you to think you have anything to say?" But when you quiet those voices and get down to writing, you know that underneath it all you want to connect with others, get them to think about something in a different way and, perhaps, act in a different way. In short, as Mary Pipher (2007) titles her book, you may be *Writing to Change the World*. If that be the case, then your writing needs to be read. For it to be read, it needs to engage. Fortunately, different people are engaged by different styles of writing, but no matter the style, writing that is read is writing in which the author is careful and deliberate in the use of words. Good writing gives shape to ideas and kindles imagination and visions of the possible.

In qualitative inquiry, writing ultimately gives form to the researcher's clumps of carefully organized and analyzed data. It links together thoughts that developed throughout the research process and were jotted in journals. The act of writing inspires new thoughts and connections. Writing constructs the housing for the meaning that you and others make of the research endeavor. As writer, you engage in a sustained act of construction, which includes selecting a particular

“story” to tell from the data you have analyzed, and creating the literary form that you believe best conveys your account. It perhaps matters to some—but needs no resolution—whether the researcher’s construction is more like that of an architect, proceeding from a vision embodied in a plan, or like that of a painter, whose vision emerges over time from intuition, sense, and feeling. For many, constructing a text is possibly some combination of both plan and intuition. This chapter touches on intuition, but it focuses on strategies for writing and possible forms and styles. But first, writing up research is situated in a discussion of **representation**.

THE CONUNDRUM OF REPRESENTATION

The contextual nature of knowledge along with the role of language in creating meaning has become a focal point of thought and conversations in qualitative inquiry. Labeled the **crisis of representation** by Marcus and Fischer (1999), these discussions have highlighting, in particular, (1) how the research report cannot be separated from the teller, the researcher; (2) how the language the writer chooses connotes specific values; and (3) how all textual presentations are “fashioned” and, thereby, in a sense, fictions. These ideas have influenced changes in qualitative inquiry writing as discussed in the sections to follow. They have also helped open space for creative forms in research representation, a topic addressed in the next chapter.

The Tale and the Teller

We create our own stories, but only as coauthors.

(Welch, 1994, p. 41)

Researchers have always told stories to friends and colleagues of research relationships, dramatic field events, and day-to-day drudgery, but in the past, they tended to omit such stories from written reports. They also left out reflections on subjectivity and on their interactions with people in the research site. Rather, they tended to present their research with an authoritative “this is the way it is” stance (Van Maanen, 1988), sometimes referred to as *literary realism*.

With their current emphasis on reflexivity, qualitative researchers today ask how social science and self are “co-created” (Richardson, 2000). From this perspective, what you know about your research—reflected in your interpretations—is intertwined with what you know about yourself. Therefore, authors increasingly write themselves into their texts, acknowledging that they have been there all along, creating meaning. How much authors reflect upon themselves and their work and how they inscribe themselves into their texts, however, varies in degree and style.

A text (all of it or a section) may take the form of what Van Maanen (1988) calls a “confessional tale.” In confessional tales, the point of view is not that of interviewees and others in the research site, but that of the fieldworker, relaying his or her field experiences. Authors of confessional tales often portray themselves as human beings who make mistakes and blunders, but who eventually learn the rules and come to see things in new ways.

Rebecca wrote a confessional tale about her early stages in exploring adolescent girls' friendships. Passages within the tale convey her sense of insecurity and naïveté as she ventured into the field:

I move to a desk situated in front of the row the girls have claimed and set down my backpack. As I begin to unpack my materials I wonder how I should begin. "Hi, my name is Rebecca, and I'm here to tell you a little bit about my study that you agreed to be a part of." All of the girls stare at me in silence, some with shadows of apprehension on their faces. I sit down on the desk behind me and adopt a stance and manner I hope minimizes my authority role.

After the introductory meeting, Rebecca felt relieved to have completed her first research "act." Despite feeling awkward, she encouraged the girls to talk, and she left excited by what was to come.

Linden (1993) states, "Fieldwork confessions abound, yet reflexive accounts of how other cultures and cultural 'others' act on field workers are rare" (p. 9). Reflexive accounts demand more than personal tales of research problems and accomplishments. They require thought about the researcher's position and how the researcher affects and is affected by the fieldwork and field relationships, as Linden exemplifies in *Making Stories, Making Selves: Feminist Reflections on the Holocaust* (1993):

Writing this book has compelled me, repeatedly, to turn inward. Over and over again, I have examined the impress of the Holocaust on my Jewish consciousness. My self-reflections became an integral component of my research, inseparable from the book "about" Holocaust survivors I had initially planned to write. This process transformed my Jewish identity, and the book tells that story as well. (p. 2)

In the text, Linden presents her own memories, family stories, and evolving sense of identity along with the narratives of the Holocaust survivors.

In *Translated Woman* (1993), Behar addresses socioeconomic class differences between herself and Esperanza, a woman in Mexico with whom she conducted research for several years. Behar also reveals details of her family life as she was growing up that she perceived as influential in her research interpretations. Ever reflexive, she later discusses the effects of having written about her family. Her mother, angry at Behar's exposure of the family's "dirty laundry," asks, "If you had to ask Esperanza for permission to write about her, why don't you have to ask permission to write about us?" (Behar, 1995, p. 72). Since we are relational beings, exposing lives of others is a hazard of writing that requires careful attention whether you are composing thematic reports or autoethnographies.

Another potential risk of inserting the self into texts is using research as a kind of self-therapy or to focus as much on the self as on another. Cynically referred to as ethnonarcissism, some accounts appear to be ways for people to make more of themselves than of the world around them. As a researcher, you are inseparable from your findings. Just what to write about yourself in the text—and

how much—remains, however, an issue worthy of consideration. As Goodall (2008) asserts, what is important about incorporating your perspectives is “*what you do with them*. . . . What do they enable? What do they constrain . . . ? How do these details make the story more credible as well as more interesting?” (p. 25).

The Researcher’s Language

Whatever reality is, besides existent, our sense of it . . . comes inevitably out of the way we talk about it.

(Geertz, 1995, p. 18)

Meaning is more complex than the definition of words. The very choice of the language you use—whether clear and coherent, complex and disruptive, removed and formal, or personal and evocative—tells a story in addition to what you mean it to say. For example, consider researchers who pepper reports with *utilize*, *finalize*, and other *ize*-ending words instead of shorter terms such as *use* and *finish*. By their word choice, they take on the air of academic pretension, but not necessarily that of good writers, as Strunk and White (1979) remind us.

For another example, in crafting this book, I want to write in a style accessible to those of you who are novice researchers, to use clear, expressive language and examples that engage. But what meaning does my language choice produce? What messages does such writing convey? Certainly, I simplify much and simply ignore more. I gloss over historical catalysts and social philosophies. I do so not because they don’t matter but because my primary intent is to welcome in those of you new to qualitative research. I trust that you will go on to read, discuss, and discover elsewhere variety and complexity in research perspectives and methodologies. In doing so, however, am I inviting you into a seemingly intriguing and appealing adventure without warning you properly of all the hidden alleys and curves? Am I encouraging “bad science” if some of you read this text and think that you now know all about being a qualitative researcher? I don’t want to deceive or to provide a false sense of knowing, but both may be possibilities because of the language I choose.

“Language does not ‘reflect’ social reality, but produces meaning, creates social reality,” states Richardson (2000, p. 928). For example, passive, disembodied sentences (“The study was conducted . . .”) convey a sense of objectivity where researchers and their actions (excitement, worries) disappear. For another example, return to my discussion of writing this text and my intent to use clear, accessible language. Lather (1996) states that “plain speaking” can imply “a mirroring relationship between the word and the world” (p. 527). She argues that sometimes we need to read and not easily understand in order to move our thinking beyond the taken-for-granted. Tsing (1993) takes a similar perspective, referring to her own ethnographic writing strategies as “guerrilla tactics of multiple, uneasily jostling theories and stories . . . in which curiosity is not overwhelmed by coherence” (pp. 32–33). In essence, Lather and Tsing push me to ask questions of language use in this text, and I urge you to do so as well, not only of this text but also of your own.

Depictions and Interpretations

A life as lived is what actually happened. . . . A life as told, a life history, is a narrative, influenced by the cultural conventions of telling, by the social context.

(Bruner, 1984, p. 7)

A life as told is a re-presentation of that life; the life and the telling are not the same. Rather, the narrative—the telling or the writing—is always an interpretation of other peoples' lives, an interpretation that qualitative researchers struggle with representing.

For many years, the **realist tale** (Van Maanen, 1988) was the dominant form of ethnographic representation. Authors minutely documented details of the lives of people studied, using closely edited quotations to portray participants' points of view. The researcher, however, was absent from much, if not all, of the text, taking a position of "interpretive omnipotence" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 51) in relaying observations and interviews in a way that assumed that the life and the telling were practically the same. In other words, the representation appeared to be *true* to life.

In his 1967 book *Tally's Corner*, Liebow explored the lives of "streetcorner" men who hung out on Tally's Corner in inner-city Washington, DC, in the early 1960s. In an appendix, Liebow discusses, among other things, his own background and issues of class and race (he is Caucasian; the streetcorner men are African American). In the text, however, Liebow (1967) primarily presents descriptions of what he heard and saw, words of people with whom he spoke, and generalized interpretations such as the following:

A crucial factor in the streetcorner man's lack of job commitment is the overall value he places on the job. *For his part, the streetcorner man puts no lower value on the job than does the larger society around him.* He knows the social value of the job by the amount of money the employer is willing to pay him for doing it. In a real sense, every pay day, he counts in dollars and cents the value placed on the job by society at large. (p. 57)

Liebow's writing is clear, descriptive, and engaging. In his portrait of a group of inner-city African American men and their relationships with work, women, children, and friends, Liebow provides the reader with an unquestioning sense of "this is the way it really is."

How you represent others has consequences. In the 1970s, Edward Said was influential in confronting the perceived neutrality of realist tales and other inquiry presentations. He argued, for example, that researchers who portrayed study participants as "exotic" or "backward" were assuming positions of privilege as investigators who could classify people and, in the process, silenced, objectified, and dominated those they described (Dicks et al., 2005). How language use assigns value continues as a focal point within conversations about research representations.

Giving up an authoritative stance means that you no longer can profess to know everything, but from my perspective, you can claim to *know something*. Your knowledge, however, is always partial, situated in a particular context with specific

historical understandings (Richardson, 2000). That your understanding is incomplete does not make it unimportant, nor does it mean that you scatter methodological discipline and rigor to the wind. You may, however, want to try out various representational forms and make even more explicit your role as cocreator of research tales. Keep the *crisis of representation* context in mind as you continue this chapter.

MIND-SETS FOR APPROACHING RESEARCH WRITING

By the time we finish reading a good ethnography, adroit rationalization has made familiar what at first seemed strange, the other, and has estranged us from what we thought we knew, ourselves.

(Shweder, 1986, p. 38)

A woman once asked me to review and provide feedback on dissertation work that she was completing at another university. She had developed interview questions (both closed- and open-ended) and had scheduled interviews with administrators throughout the nation, but she had not yet collected any data. Nonetheless, she had compiled a document of nearly 200 pages, divided into five chapters: introduction to the problem, review of literature, methods, findings, and summary with recommendations. She had completed the first three chapters and much of the last two, leaving blank spaces for percentages and applicable phrases once the data were available.

I do not know how many dissertations and research reports are written this way; not many, I hope. Those that are cannot do justice to the data in that they forfeit interpretation. They neither show respect for the time and input of respondents nor call on analytic and creative qualities of the writer. And they do not succeed in making the strange familiar or in estranging us from ourselves.

This section addresses three mind-sets that may be helpful to assume as you set out to write up your work: artist, translator/interpreter, and transformer.

Artist

To make meaning of data, writers employ technical procedures that are to some extent routine and mechanical, but writers of good qualitative studies also are artists who create. In his edited book *Extraordinary Lives* (1986), Zinsser states:

[Research] is only research. After all the facts have been marshaled, all the documents studied, all the locales visited, all the survivors interviewed, what then? What do the facts add up to? What did the life mean? This was the central question for the six biographers, and to hear them wrestling with it was to begin to see where the craft crosses over into art. (pp. 17–18)

Craft involves the strategies and procedures authors use to write their documents. The form and style of the presentation require artistic sensibilities, which seem to involve a mixture of discipline and creativity. As artists, qualitative researchers

move into the murky terrain where some may regard them as journalists, fiction writers, or worse. As artists, they seek imaginative connections among events and people, imaginative renderings of these connections, and imaginative interpretations of what they have rendered. They do this not only in the worthy cause of making their work accessible, but also to do full justice to what they have endeavored to understand. Chapter 9 focuses on these artistic renderings.

Translator/Interpreter

We construct *a* truth, but not the only truth. We *represent* reality; we don't reproduce it.

(Goodall, 2008, p. 23)

The ethnographer is sometimes described as a translator of culture. The researcher works to understand another's world and then to translate the text of lived actions into a meaningful account. Although the translator metaphor suggests struggle with representing nuances of meaning, it also can imply that the researcher is an objective middleperson, rather than someone whose perspectives and personality affect the portrayed account. As previously discussed, qualitative researchers are interpreters who draw on their own experiences, knowledge, theoretical dispositions, and collected data to present their understandings of particular processes and situations. As interpreters, they think of themselves not as authority figures who get the "facts" on a topic, but as meaning makers who make sense out of the interaction of their own lives with those of research participants. "An ethnography," explains Shweder (1986), "begins with an ethnographic experience: With your eyes open you have to go somewhere. Yet a culture is never reducible to what meets the eye, and you can't get to ethnographic reality by just looking" (p. 38). He likens culture to a black hole that you can know "only by inference and conjecture" (p. 38). Inference and conjecture are mainstays of the interpretive process. Inferences are made about the relationship of one thing to another, on the basis of carefully collected, carefully analyzed data.

Translations in this interpretive sense can help both researchers and readers to see differently, to know new things. In Michaels's exquisitely written novel *Fugitive Pieces* (1996), the main character, as a small boy, watched his family get killed in Nazi Germany. He could not talk of it until much later, after he moved to Canada and learned English. Translating the events out of their language of origin allowed him to explore what happened and what the events meant for his life and for others. Fiction writers and poets learn that when they are surprised by what their writing reveals to themselves, their effort is working. Like the character in Michaels's book, qualitative research writers seek translations that will allow them to reveal and reorder in surprising and meaningful ways what they have observed, heard, and experienced.

Transformer

It is to the role of transformer—not necessarily in the sense of reformer but rather of catalytic educator—that many writers of qualitative research aspire. As others read your story, you want them to identify with or be a witness to the problems,

oppression, worries, joys, and dreams that are the collective human lot. By reflecting on others' lives in light of their own experiences, readers acquire new insights and perspectives on some aspect of human interaction and, perhaps, are moved to action. This process of learning about self through understanding others is a gift of qualitative research done well. Shweder (1986) equates ethnography to "intellectual exorcism" and states, "Forced to take the perspective of the other, we are wrenched out of our self. We transcend ourselves, and for a brief moment we wonder who we are" (p. 38).

Writing up your work so that it contributes to transformative experiences requires the application of both disciplined procedures and artistic creativity to meaningful data. Goodall (2008) states, "The power of the story is its ability to change your life. And not just yours, but other people's lives as well" (p. 13). This chapter will return to such possibilities, but concentrates first on the disciplined procedures of writing.

STRATEGIES FOR WRITING

Writing-up research is like making maple syrup. Forty gallons of sap boil down to one gallon of syrup. I have 40 gallons of data to reduce to a gallon of "Grade A" descriptions and interpretations. Right now, my syrup is a bit thin.

(Sandi, University of Vermont student)

Getting Started

Most of us can find numerous excuses to postpone writing. We have to read more, see more, and talk more; we must recode and reanalyze; and, inevitably, we feel compelled to mop the floor, make a phone call, do anything to avoid sitting down and writing. That those who spend much of their life writing also experience anxiety over getting started may be of some comfort. In *Bird by Bird* (1995), novelist Anne Lamott describes the voices in her head as banshees that distract from writing. She reminds us that we cannot will our written products together. Rather, "It is a matter of persistence and faith and hard work. So you might as well just go ahead and get started" (p. 7). While the novice procrastinates (and, in the process, prolongs the anxiety), those with more experience write. As the Portuguese proverb goes, "When there is no wind, row."

It helps to know that writing, like data analysis, is not a discrete step in the qualitative research process. Ideally, and not at all unrealistically, you write throughout data collection and analysis. Long before you begin a phase of work that you can call "writing up," you are writing. It is useful to be conscious at the outset of a research project that it will culminate in words, sentences, paragraphs, pages, and chapters. Distant though it may be, this culmination will arrive. Aware that it will, you look, listen, and note; analyze, interpret, and note; and are attuned to the prospect that the results will be words to be read. If you follow this advice,

then you will have files of fieldnotes and research memos, many containing well-developed thoughts in usable paragraph form.

A time will come, however, when more of your effort will be put into writing than anything else. This time is often preceded by feelings of intense anxiety manifested in a variety of ways and labeled “writer morassity” by a student research support group in Vermont for whom metaphors of bogs, swamps, and slow drownings recurred. The writer gearing up for writing is often unsociable and ill-tempered while sorting and re-sorting data, trying to organize thoughts. Woods (1986) refers to the “pain threshold” of writing, asserting that researchers must be masochists who confront the pain barrier till it hurts as they rework ideas that seemed brilliant before exposed to paper. He likens the suffering that the writer feels to that of other artists and urges them to view the anxiety as a rite of passage that “is as much a test of self as anything else” (p. 171).

Writing is a lonely process. While writing about people and social processes, you paradoxically remove yourself from the world of human beings. This estrangement is functional in two ways. First, you need to be by yourself because you need time to concentrate on writing. Woods (1985) observes that “research may benefit teaching, but the converse does not apply” (p. 88) because assisting others distracts you from focusing on your own work. Those who write dissertations or other research reports while “on the job” are likely to agree. Most writers do best with daily periods of extended time set aside for writing.

Second, estrangement is functional in that it separates you from the research site. The distancing helps you to approach writing from a perspective that is more global than situation specific:

If one does not distance oneself from them [research participants], then there is a danger of being unable to dismantle the data, select from them, and re-order the material. One is left in the position of someone who, when asked to comment on and criticize a film or novel, can do no more than rehearse the plot. The ethnographer who fails to achieve distance will easily fall into the trap of recounting “what happened” without imposing a coherent thematic or analytic framework. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, pp. 212–213)

So writers withdraw, immersed in their data and thoughts about the research, intending to give form and meaning to what they have observed and heard and read.

Several strategies can help you deal with the anxiety and alienation that accompany beginning to write:

1. Develop a long-term schedule with realistic deadlines. Expect to spend as much time, if not more, in focused data analysis and writing as you spend in data collection. You need time to play with the data and your words, to share drafts with research participants and colleagues, and to rework drafts a number of times. You need time, as well, to do justice to the considerable investment you have made in planning your study and producing the data.

2. Develop a short-term schedule. Figure out when you are most creative in your writing. If possible, make appointments with yourself to write for three to four hours, four to five days per week. Expand the hours when you can. Some authors who have more flexible schedules set a number of pages to be written each day rather than an amount of time to work. Somewhere around five double-spaced typed pages a day is a reasonable amount, unless you have nothing else to do but write.
3. Set aside a place for writing where you can be as free as possible from interruptions and distractions. When you go there, do not make phone calls, check e-mail, or read books. Write.
4. Be prepared to write at other times and places. Many days become fragmented, with numerous short periods of unproductive time. Keep a notebook (or tablet) with you and stay open to ideas concerning your project. Jot down your thoughts when they strike you, whether in the midst of a boring meeting, or riding the bus home, or working on something else. Murray (1986) suggests using fragments of time to make lists, notes, and diagrams; search out quotes; sketch outlines; and draft titles and key paragraphs.
5. Begin by editing yesterday's writing. Writers tend to need a gearing-up period before getting started. Many find that editing what they wrote the day before helps them get into the new day's work, keeps the flow consistent, and assists in producing a better draft. Beginning by editing yesterday's writing not only lets you know exactly where to start today but also allows you to revise what seemed perfectly clear as it was written but may appear obscure a very short time afterward.
6. When stuck, read your work aloud. Reading aloud reveals the rhythm, flow, and tone of the piece and often helps you to form the thoughts and words that will follow.
7. When stuck, write. Write without concern for syntax, coherence, or logic. Write to work out ideas and thoughts; obsess over form and style later. It helps to acquire a *first-draft mentality*: the state of mind in which you give yourself permission to write without concern about appearances. You write this way knowing that you will revise later and clarify what may be very messy. You write this way appreciating that it is better to produce a draft of poor quality than be held back by premature concerns about form and style. A great obstacle to writing is holding inappropriately high standards for early drafts, particularly the first draft. A standard that is too high will put you on the road to the paralysis of writer's block. Better to settle for a draft of *any* quality, trusting in revision to produce order, style, and worthy words.

Taking the attitude of conversing with your peers may facilitate the flow of words, as suggested by Murray (1986):

I was paralyzed by the idea that I had to deliver the Truth—Moses-like; I began to write when I realized all I had to do was speculate, question, argue, create a model, take a position, define a problem, make an observation, propose a solution, illuminate a possibility to participate in a written conversation with my peers. (p. 147)

The written-conversation idea is easily extended by choosing a person you know—a friend, relative, colleague, or research participant—and writing with that person in mind.

8. If the written-conversation idea fails, don't underestimate the power of dialog. Getting together with another person and talking through the statement "What I am really trying to say in this section is . . ." will often enable you to move beyond your sticking point.
9. Establish or join a writing group. Not only does this kind of interaction provide ongoing feedback; it helps to establish regular deadlines. As well intentioned as you are in setting your own short- and long-term due dates, there is nothing like having to be accountable to others to help you meet those deadlines.
10. Finally, immerse yourself in exemplary ethnographies and qualitative studies, as well as in novels, poetry, and great works of literature (during non-writing hours). Your reading provides models and sources of inspiration. "Read widely as well as deeply," advises Murray (1986, p. 149).

Once you have started writing, keep at it. The carefully organized files and clumps of notes are the makings for the qualitative researcher's text. As your "to do" clumps shrink in number, you have evidence of progress.

Keeping At It

In Beryl Markham's (1942/1983) conception of progress, "A word grows to a thought—a thought to an idea—an idea to an act. The change is slow, and the Present is a sluggish traveler loafing in the path Tomorrow wants to take" (p. 154). You should not wait until you know exactly what the thoughts, ideas, and words



Student on a Maori Marai in New Zealand, forming her thoughts and gaining insight through the process of writing.

should be before beginning to write. Writing “helps people generate, develop, organize, modify, critique, and remember their ideas” (Fulwiler, 1985, p. 23). When working on one analytical theme and, perhaps, incorporating an interviewee quotation as an example, another example often jumps to mind, filed elsewhere. As you write, you begin to see new ways in which your data connect. British historian Sir Steven Runciman (in Plante, 1986) emphasizes the role of writing in the forming of ideas: “When I’m writing, I’m dealing with something being revealed to me all the time. I get the insight when I’m actually having to try to put it into words” (p. 78). Writing helps you to develop thoughts and ideas and to discover what you know and what else you need to know. It is best to begin sooner rather than later.

Although you may begin writing with an overall organizational plan, the act of writing is likely to reshape the plan, reorganize the pieces, subsume some sections, and add others. For example, the process of writing restructured Peshkin’s outline for one of his books:

The latest appearance of a gain—breakthrough would be too strong—was the relegation of what was to be an entire chapter, Chapter 5, to a *part* of a chapter, Chapter 1. A chapter on the “town today” struck me as more fitting for the introductory stuff I have put in Chapter 1. So thinking, when I went to arrange the clump of notes, I was thinking small—part of a chapter, rather than big—an entire chapter. So thinking, I discarded lots of data that I’d originally put in the “town today” clump. Which is to say, I have a lot less to write and can look forward to soon getting on to real Chapter 5, which now looks to be “education today,” having done “education history” in Chapter 4. What is becoming clear is that my chapter outline, made when I had finished all coding, holds up only until I prepare to write a new chapter. Then, in light of the previous chapters done, I know whether the new one will fit next as the chapter, fit elsewhere as a chapter, fit somewhere as a part of a chapter, or fit nowhere at all. (Personal notes, May 24, 1988)

Writing up is a continual process of organizing and reorganizing your research information and analytic thoughts. Once your writing begins, the data bits you have carefully sorted into segregated clumps will look different. No longer homogeneous, they need to be sorted into subclumps that possibly make up subsections of the text. For example, suppose you have a major code on “resolving conflict” for a study of first-year principals. Under “resolving conflict,” you had further categorized the data by techniques used, such as “holding meetings,” “using humor,” “turning the matter over to others,” and “ignoring the situation.” Now, suppose that within the subclump “turning the matter over to others,” you realize, through reading and thinking about the interview data there, that first-year principals sometimes turn budget conflicts over to the school board and personnel conflicts over to the superintendent. Your data scraps could be arranged accordingly. To write up your data, you continuously, progressively sort and consider relationships of one piece of data to another. Through this process, you increasingly impose order on your data. Yet, at the same time, the order is flexible; it continuously changes, shaped by the ideas that your writing generates.

At this stage, you are engaging also in the analytic process of selecting which data, of all the data you collected, to use in the text. Wolcott (2009) describes this as “the painful task” (p. 16) of getting rid of data and states, “The idea is to discover essences and then to reveal those essences with sufficient context, yet not become mired by trying to include everything that might possibly be described” (p. 39). In fact, “during the composition of a monograph or a visual documentary—your best indicator of activity may be not output but outthrow” (Plath, 1990, p. 374). Ask your committee members to describe the most wearisome qualitative research paper or dissertation they have read. Most likely, they will depict reports where authors felt compelled to insert every quotation collected in list-like fashion with little analysis or interpretation.

Kvale (1996, pp. 266–267) provides eight guidelines for reporting interview quotations. I emphasize three: (1) Quotes should not make up more than half the text in any descriptive or analytical chapter; (2) quotes should be kept short, ordinarily no more than half a page; and (3) quotes should be interpreted with the researcher clearly stating what perspective they illuminate. These are not hard-and-fast rules. A whole chapter, for example, may be primarily the edited words of an interviewee. As guidelines, however, they may assist you to let go of some of your data. Ask of each chunk, “Does this bit of evidence move the story along?” (Plath, 1990, p. 376).

The organizational procedures of writing are relatively easier to discuss than what makes writing more than a linear report of what was done and learned. Your composition conveys how you interpret and make meaning of what you saw and heard. No mechanical procedures exist for meaningful writing. It helps to be so immersed that you are open to those flashes of insight that come when least expected. Such moments make connections and provide perspectives that allow troublesome pieces to fall into place. Revisiting your work after it has sat awhile assists as well.

Drafts and Revisions

Expect your work to go through a number of drafts before it reflects the polish of a well-crafted manuscript. The first draft of your manuscript is like a roughly hewn form emerging from a sculpture’s block of wood. To make the form a work of art, the sculptor carefully continues to shape the form, creating details, smoothing rough spots, and polishing the overall piece. Successive drafts do the same for the author’s words.

When your first draft is completed, read it for overall cohesion, and then add, move, or eliminate sections as needed. In another reading, focus on the clarity of your theories and descriptions. With more readings, tighten, sharpen, and brighten (Trimble, in Jeske, 1984) your work: Tighten by eliminating unnecessary words. Sharpen by reworking passive statements and employing precise and lively words. Brighten by simile, metaphor, and lively description. Grammar, spelling, and punctuation should also get a turn. Aspiring novelist Stephen King, while in high school, sent a manuscript to an editor and received back a formula that King (2000) says he continues to heed: “2nd Draft = 1st Draft – 10%” (p. 222). In the process of working to remove 10 percent of the manuscript, you tighten, sharpen, and brighten.

Do not overlook the contribution of a reading that attends to subheadings. Subheadings benefit both author and reader. Scan your subheadings to check the order of the parts within each chapter. Try listing all of your subheads on a separate page; then reconsider their most effective order. Name previously unnamed sections. Although unnamed sections may be easy for you to make order of—easy because the words are yours and you are familiar with them—that is not the case for the reader. With only two subheadings to structure thirty-eight typed pages, for example, too much of your chapter is left unstructured. Finally, reexamine the content and the order of paragraphs within each section.

Artisans sometimes have assistants who help in certain stages of crafting a work. Qualitative researchers have colleagues, peers, and research participants to play invaluable roles in polishing the final product. Enlist them to respond to your interpretations, ideas, and forms of expression, and allow time for such input in the shaping of your manuscript. Choose people who are comfortable enough with you to be honest and direct. When I was in graduate school, the Fat Data Group (organized by Alan Peshkin) served this role. I learned to edit the work of peers and professors (and through doing so, to better edit my own), and also to value what their eyes brought to my work. At first, I was intimidated by the many marks and comments scribbled onto returned drafts, but soon, I came to feel slighted if a paper came back with few suggestions, the reader seemingly not valuing it enough to spend time with it. If asked to give feedback, take your job as reviewer seriously. If fortunate enough to get others to provide feedback, seriously consider what they have to say. King (2000), who sends copies of a novel to six or seven friends before submitting it to the publishers, gives the following advice: “If everyone who reads your book says you have a problem . . . you’ve got a problem and you better do something about it” (p. 217).

Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffmann Davis (1997) refer to their qualitative inquiry as “portraiture” work in that they seek to blur “the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism in an effort to capture the complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human experience and organizational life” (p. xv). If you have tried drawing or painting, think about how, for a time, you look at the world around you differently, noting variations in textures and color, the play of light, and possible emotions behind someone’s eyes. Think about decisions artists must make to communicate their interpretations in a visual form. The qualitative researcher seeks to reach a similar deep understanding of some human experience but one of a more cultural and interior nature and to similarly render it in a way that connects and is meaningful to others.

Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519), *Ginevra de’ Benci*, 1474/1478, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, The National Gallery of Art.



THE TEXT: QUESTIONS OF STYLE

Variety in Text Organization

Marleen Pugach spent a year doing her ethnography of a school in a town on the border between the United States and Mexico. In considering questions of text organization, Marleen pondered how, out of the many possible ways to tell her story, she was going to frame her data:

The analogy, it seems to me, is the making-a-movie analogy . . . that you need miles and miles of film to edit it down to something respectable. And I need all of this “stuff,” my transcripts, fieldnotes, newspaper clippings, and documents so I can figure out how to use the best of it all wisely, and set it within a framework that makes sense . . . and that I create. This is the challenging and scary part . . . the framework. Of course the transcripts and the rest of the data tell the story, but in reality I tell the story and these data, while they are the guts of the story, are used in the service of the framework. I’m not suggesting that the framework comes out of nowhere, or is just a creation of my fertile imagination, but just that the great subjectivity of it all is very much on my mind. This balancing of the data and one’s own view is really at the heart of the task, isn’t it? We gloss it over by reminding people not to get “wedded” to their categories too quickly, to let the story “emerge” from the data. But in a way these are very glib attempts to describe what is a terrifically delicate process—writing a real story, a consistent story, a true-to-the-data story that makes sense both to the local population and to the readers who have never been there. As the researcher, you have been there. And you are in a very powerful position in terms of how you frame all of the data you are now in possession of. This is VERY hard work. (Personal correspondence, 1994)

Creating the frame for your data is hard work, and as Marleen observes, it is not just a matter of what your data say but of what *you and* your data say. It’s a good idea to begin considering the frame for your text while still in the midst of data analysis. Consider what you are learning and how you might convey those interpretations to others. Doing so before you complete the analysis phase may lead you to think about your analytical categories differently. You also need to consider your target audience and what kind of report they will want to read. Goodall (2008, p. 37) suggests asking four questions to help develop the frame: What is unique to your story? What is the point of telling it? Who will most likely want to read it, and what will engage them? How does the story connect to scholarly conversations? Journaling answers to these questions may assist you to figure out which story, of all the versions you could communicate, you ought to write.

Several ethnographic conventions tend to help shape text organization. Some authors apply one basic strategy to the whole text; some use each chapter or parts of chapters as vehicles for different strategies. This is yet one more decision for you to make in light of what you feel compelled to convey. To help you make such decisions, read a variety of ethnographies, research reports, and journal

articles, observing, as you do so, the techniques and formats other writers use to present their work. Following are seven strategies for text organization. The techniques mentioned here are not the only ways to organize your writing, but rather some of the schemas you might consider.

Thematic. Probably the most frequently used technique is organization by themes or topics. The researcher generates a typology of inquiry-based concepts, gives them names (or makes use of *in vivo* labels), and then discusses them one by one, illustrating with descriptive detail. For example, to organize a discussion of qualitative research and cultural ethics, Patricia Martin and I (2002) used the themes “community,” “autonomy,” and “hospitality.” These themes came up constantly in our conversations with people in Oaxaca, as well as in literature we were reading. In our article, we applied the terms as headings, described the meanings and usage of the concepts among the people with whom we worked, provided examples from our separate research projects, and then considered how each concept could inform inquiry practices.

Natural History. The natural history approach is typical of impressionistic tales (Van Maanen, 1988). The text re-creates the fieldwork process and the researcher’s perception of investigations, connections, and learning. Through this technique, the author can portray a sense of people and place and their interactions with the researcher.

Chronology. In the chronology technique, “the pattern follows some ‘developmental cycle,’ ‘moral career,’ or ‘timetable’ characteristic of the setting or actors under investigation” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 217). If the passage of time is critical to the study, then the chronology technique is particularly appropriate. For example, Peshkin’s book *The Imperfect Union* (1982a) chronicles the struggle between a village and a school board over the closing of the village’s only remaining school.

Zoom Lens. Another technique involves narrowing and expanding the focus. The author moves from descriptive field detail and quotations to theoretical abstraction or vice versa. Like a zoom lens, the text glides through various levels of generality. Spradley (1979) advocates this technique when he identifies six levels of statements that he believes should be a part of ethnographic writing. The levels range from universal statements to incident-specific statements. The writer, says Spradley, moves back and forth through the various levels. Accounts written only at the more general levels will be dry and dull with no examples to ground theoretical statements. In contrast, those written at the more specific levels may make for interesting reading, but they fall short of analyzing the sociocultural and political significance of the data. These levels parallel Wolcott’s (1994) discussion of data transformation presented in Chapter 7.

A convention in much ethnographic writing, therefore, is to begin with a descriptive vignette shaped from fieldnotes or interviewees’ words that draws the

reader into the paper and introduces the topic, and then to zoom out through various levels of generality. Novice qualitative researchers tend to perceive value in conducting interviews but are less inclined to invest time in observations. When writing vignettes, you fully appreciate the time put into observations and fieldnotes. They are invaluable for providing the details needed for incident-specific writing.

Narrative. At its core, narrative writing in research means presenting data in the form of stories, often in the voice of the narrator. In a blending and consolidation of interview transcripts, for example, Teran (2002) organized and condensed into a narrative hours of interviews with Mexican scholar and activist Gustavo Esteva. Teran periodically inserted his own explanatory or analytical comments, but in essence, one chapter of his dissertation is an ordered rendition of Esteva's words. The following example begins with Esteva's words; then, in italics, Teran sets up the organizational schema for the continuing narrative:

Although I tried to suppress the memory of my grandmother for forty years there is no doubt that she remained in my subconscious and influenced the direction of my work. It was her voice that called me to work in the *campo*, to concern myself with the *campesinos*, with the Indian people. But I did not see that for a very long time. When I say that I suppressed the memory of my grandmother, I don't mean to say that I had a bad memory of her. . . . What I suppressed during all these years was the possibility of living in her world. I denied that she was a Zapotec Indian because the indigenous world was seen as a world of misery, poverty and backwardness; a world that had to be left behind to make room for the modern world. What I suppressed was the possibility that my grandmother's world could serve as a path for my own life; as something in which I could gain inspiration for fashioning my life. It was forty years later that I begin to see those memories with another set of eyes. They opened a window to a different world; to a world that ultimately seemed more mine. It was a world in which I re-encountered my roots; an encounter that came by way of memory.

Esteva's journey to the land of his grandmother, took him through a series of encounters that ultimately brought him to a way of life and set of priorities different from the Western mindset that his education imposed on him. In Spanish "encuentro" or encounter is opposed by the word "desencuentro," which literally means "disencounter" or the non-materialization of an expected meeting or occurrence. Desencuentro then can be thought of as a turning point where the expected fulfillment of a goal, of a dream, is shattered and a dramatic new direction is taken. Esteva's story reveals three key encounters and consequent disencounters: God, Marx, and indigenous roots. (pp. 59–60)

Separation of Narrative and Interpretation. Yet another organizational technique is to separate narration and theoretical interpretations, as in Willis's *Learning to Labor* (1977). He first engages the reader with a narrative account of the research setting that is rich in description, dialog, events, and interaction. Then, the writing style changes dramatically as he applies and develops theories through detailed analysis of the data. A similar technique is the *layered account* that moves directly from descriptive, narrative pieces to chunks of related theory, to analysis, or to reflexive accounts. Typically, in the layered account, as the

text moves from one style to the other, it is separated by a row of four or five asterisks that indicate the transition.

Amalgamation. Amalgamations can also help to organize and present research data. Through analysis of interview and observation data from a number of people, Ashton and Webb (1986) grouped participants into several different categories in terms of how they responded to the issue at hand. They then combined interview and observation data for each category to create amalgamated characters that presented the research story from differing perspectives. Researchers who have spent months “shadowing” a few people may amalgamate the observed activities into a “typical day” for each participant as Wolcott did in his book *The Man in the Principal’s Office* (1973).

Data Display. Data display in tables, charts, or graphs is not an overall organizational schema, but displays can introduce or summarize categories or aspects that are discussed in the text. Figure 8.1, adapted from my work in the Caribbean, exemplifies one way of illustrating categories or themes that grew out of my analysis of respondents’ words concerning desires for their children. Some authors have used data displays as a kind of sidebar to their text, condensing material into a form that provides another way of interacting with the data.

As these various modes of organizing data suggest, no rules or recipes exist for composing qualitative research articles and theses. No matter the strategies used, ethnographers conventionally integrate research data, analyses, and information from published sources. The emphasis is on thinking with the data as a whole and constructing meaning, rather than compartmentalizing the information into sections or chapters called “review of literature,” “data analysis,” “findings,” and so on. Figure 8.2 provides an example of integrating fieldnotes, interview quotations, and literature sources, taken from an edited version of an article about collaborative research in Oaxaca (Glesne, 2003, pp. 207–208).

OCCUPATIONAL DESIRE CATEGORY	ILLUSTRATIVE RESPONSE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWEES
Something Good (economically or in self-satisfaction)	“Any kind of occupation that gives them satisfaction and joy.”	10
It’s Up to Them	“I would not choose for my children.”	10
Schooling First	“Right now they must first further their education.”	6
A Life Unlike Mine	“I want to bring him up so he doesn’t have to hus- tle as I do, and let him have an open mind so he can learn easily without having to lie or fool anybody.”	4

FIGURE 8.1 Example of Theme Categories and Illustrative Responses

TEXT	ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH	DATA SOURCE
The previous examples suggest that as youth struggle to plan and develop a <i>proyecto de vida</i> [fulfilling vocation], they considered how the project would benefit the village as a whole. It took me a while to see this. At first, I wondered how their focus was different than a small-business approach in a U.S. community and wrote in my fieldnote reflections: <i>It struck me that all of the interviews had a capitalistic bent. Wasn't gaining an income a main concern of the youth? Wasn't a major problem that of obtaining capital to begin projects? . . . When I asked my coresearchers, they listened patiently and then replied that ultimately their work is about autonomy, . . . the issue was not so much that of making money, but of having a proyecto de vida . . . that would support life within a community and allow life in that community to be lived autonomously.</i> After this discussion, I began noticing how frequently the word <i>autonomy</i> was part of conversations and interviews. Through probing, I came to understand more fully that autonomy implies a "we" rather than an "I," a "we" that includes family first of all and, then, community. The following statement by one of the youth highlights the sense of obligation that is part of the notion of communal autonomy, as well as the idea that autonomy is something people create or work to develop: <i>There are young people who don't know about autonomy. They depend on their parents, and their parents work for the government and so they have no autonomy. For us, autonomy is doing something that you want to do which will be of benefit to you and your community and your country. . . .</i> As I listened to the youths' expressions about the nature of their connections to each other and their work, I began to understand autonomy as a life quality of communities. . . . Bonfil Batalla (1996) described the history of Mexican nation-state building as one of "de-Indianization." Communal autonomy has provided a way to maintain and regenerate traditional customs and values, to resist the processes of de-Indianization. In today's world, this venture becomes one of not only maintaining the traditional but also imagining and constructing alternatives to pressures from both the nation-state and globalization.	<i>Natural history</i>	<i>Field notes</i> <i>Interviews and conversations</i> <i>Interviews</i>
	<i>Zoom out</i>	<i>Literature</i>

FIGURE 8.2 Integrating Field Notes, Interviews, and Other Sources

Specifics Of Style

As with the overall form of your work, no absolutes govern the shaping of your style. The closest you can get is to apply what guides “good writing” in general to your writing of qualitative research. Brush up on grammar rules. Read *The Elements of Style* (Strunk & White, 1979) again. Or curl up with *Eats, Shoots & Leaves* (Truss, 2003).

The following guidelines for good writing seem specifically applicable to qualitative research writing. They are where I see most room for improvement in student papers and qualitative research articles:

- *Make sentences active.* Give passive statements an actor and avoid “it is” and “there are” constructions. Instead of “data collection was carried out over a seven-month period in two different hospitals,” state “I collected data over seven months in two hospitals.” As Strunk and White (1979) assert, “When a sentence is made stronger, it usually becomes shorter. Thus, brevity is a by-product of vigor” (p. 19).
- *How are readers being addressed?* Make sure that “we,” “you,” “one,” and “people” are not used interchangeably, as in the following sentence, “When we are writing up research, people need to read and edit their work carefully or you might make understanding your work so convoluted that one won’t read it.”
- *Read through your manuscript making particular note of verb tenses.* Do you switch from present to past in the same paragraph? In general, whichever tense you choose should be used throughout your paper.
- *If you begin a sentence with a participial phrase, make sure it refers to the subject of your sentence.* Strunk and White (1979) provide wonderful examples violating this rule: “Being in a dilapidated condition, I was able to buy the house very cheap” (p. 14).
- *Think “parallel construction” when creating a sentence linking similar expressions.* In the following sentence, work to make each descriptive phrase parallel in structure: “The ADHD children in the study frequently sat detention at school, teachers gave them lower grades, siblings found them ‘annoying,’ and they were frequently knowledgeable about how things worked mechanically.” (Frequently, the ADHD children in the study sat detention at school, experienced lower grades, knew how things worked mechanically, and were considered “annoying” by their siblings.)
- *Make images concrete.* Use descriptive words. Turning again to Strunk and White (1979), note the difference between the following sentences:
 - “He showed satisfaction as he took possession of his well-earned reward.”
 - “He grinned as he pocketed the coin.” (p. 21)
- *Writers are fond of advising novice writers to “show, don’t tell.”* Instead of saying that something you learned was “interesting” or “important,” write in a way that readers find the information interesting or important themselves.
- *Avoid the jargon trap.* “It [using jargon] is a way to strike a pose as a smart, well-versed, current member of a hot and influential in-group. But more than

one hot and influential in-group within ethnographic circles has become, over time, a cold and impotent out-group" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 28).

- *Avoid wordiness.* For example, the sentence "There is some question as to whether he is the person who should be in charge of running the school owing to the fact that he rarely reads or utilizes educational research findings" is better written, "Because he rarely uses research findings, some people question his role as principal."

Schooled to write reports in a passive and authoritative manner with little, if any, of the researcher showing, some of you may experience some confusion as you let go of old habits. Even when students find some joy in their writing, as they work to write up qualitative research they are often overwhelmed by questions that they have not had to ask before. Following are some of the commonly asked questions. I offer thoughts toward answers, thoughts that touch upon points discussed earlier in this or previous chapters. In practice, a number of factors may influence the answers, including the expectations of supervising committees, the demands of funding agencies, the author's theoretical disposition and methodology, and the degree of risk that the researcher is willing to take.

Question: Is it ok to use "I"?

Answer: Writing in the first-person singular is generally accepted and fits the nature of qualitative inquiry. The presence of "I" in your text reflects your presence in your research setting. Your "I" says that yours is not a disembodied account that presumes to be objective by virtue of omitting clear reference to the being who lived through a particular research experience and lived with other people in the course of that experience. Avoid the obtrusive "I" that says, "Look at me," because the story you tell usually is not foremost about yourself. Use "I" in the sense of saying that you were present; it is well for both writer and reader to remember this fact.

Question: When I am describing and analyzing what I saw and heard, do I also evaluate what I experienced?

Answer: In discussing her biographical work on Alice James, Strouse (1988) states, "Getting brave enough to venture my own views was really what writing the book was all about" (p. 190). Your writing is interpretive; to pretend otherwise is to fool yourself but perhaps very few others. Nonetheless, the purpose of interpretivist research is generally to increase understanding, not to pass judgment. There may be a fine line between finding fault and finding meaning. Taking heed of this line is worthwhile. Tell the story from perspectives of your participants—most likely, you will have multiple versions to tell, which often include *their* evaluations of the merit and worth of a program or policy. Do not use data, however, to tell the story that a priori you want told.

Question: In writing a thesis or dissertation, do I have to follow the conventional format of problem statement, literature review, research methods, findings, and conclusion?

Answer: The qualitative researching student has an adviser and committee whose judgments may set the guidelines and orthodoxy for the student's writing. Qualitative research, however, has no conventional organizational format. Following any particular chapter arrangement is likely to be a matter of negotiation with your committee, a negotiation that should be undertaken early. From my perspective, the conventional dissertation format is not congruent with either the openness of qualitative inquiry or the contributions that descriptive, interpretive writing can provide.

Question: When quoting participants, should I reference my interview notes? If so, how?

Answer: I don't, but your committee may insist that you do. Other than for audit checks, it seems meaningless to provide such references when general readers do not have access to your notes. In addition, such referencing interrupts the flow of the text. If you are documenting your study through hypertext or hypermedia, however, you will provide links in your text to transcripts and/or taped interviews.

Question: If in a quote the interviewee uses the name of a person or place, do I change the names to provide anonymity? If so, do I use brackets or some other means to demonstrate that the name has been changed? And do I use the interviewees' name, their initials, or pseudonyms?

Answer: If by naming the interviewee or the person or place in the quotation, you breach your commitment to anonymity, then the answer is clear: Use pseudonyms. A general sentence or footnote at the beginning of your work can clarify your intent to alter names and places as needed. Thereafter, I see no need to call attention to the changes you make in the interest of preserving anonymity. Regarding the use of initials, I agree with Emerson et al. (1995): "This minimal identification makes gender difficult to remember, lacks evocative qualities, and makes it difficult for a reader to recognize that person in other excerpts" (p. 194).

Question: When quoting someone, should I leave in every "umm," "you know," and other unconscious patterns of speech?

Answer: Let your methodological approaches and research purposes be your guide. If you are doing conversational analysis or some forms of narrative analysis, then such utterances could be an important part of your data. If, however, you are interested in patterns and cultural understandings, these speech patterns contribute little. When quoting, you might want to leave in enough of such sounds and words to represent the person's speech, but not so many as to embarrass the speaker or to impose on a reader's patience.

Question: How do you ensure confidentiality and anonymity to a person who plays a major role in a study and whose position is singular and central to the study (e.g., a school principal or superintendent)?

Answer: "When total confidentiality or anonymity cannot be guaranteed, the issue becomes, in part, one of ongoing communication and agreement" (Johnson, 1982, p. 85). This is a sensitive matter. You may feel particularly constrained in what you say because you cannot safely disguise the person's identity. My suggestion is to begin by saying all that you would like to say.

Then reread what you have written as if you were that person, and edit appropriately. Finally, send a copy of your prose to that person and take your cue from his or her reaction.

Question: How do you describe and report unfavorable attitudes toward a person, program, or site when that person, program, or site is identifiable by research participants and by others in the area?

Answer: First, ask yourself if it is necessary to report anything negative about persons and places that are identifiable. A commitment to scholarship does not provide a license to injure those who allow you access to their words and deeds. As you strive to understand the complexity of social phenomena, you will most likely discover that research participants are as human as you are—neither saint nor sinner. Biographer Nagel (1988) gives good advice: “Writing about another person’s life is an awesome task, so one must proceed with a gentleness born from knowing that the subject and the author share the frailties of human mortality” (p. 115). Portray that frailty and humanity, neither disguising it with a hidden agenda of your own, nor overlaying it with highlights that gild—or wound and denigrate. Of course, if your research has a clear evaluative component and that component is a negotiated aspect of your access, then the matter of negative findings assumes another perspective.

Question: If a quotation from an interview fits well for several of my themes, can I reuse it in the manuscript?

Answer: Emerson et al. (1995) provide good advice: “Simply duplicating the fieldnote in several sections of the final text does not work. Because readers quickly tire of unnecessary repetitions, ethnographers avoid using the same fieldnote excerpt more than one time” (p. 192).

Question: Should I end my written report with a list of recommendations? If I’m in an applied field of study, shouldn’t I be prescriptive?

Answer: The need to be useful is both understandable and desirable. Useful outcomes, however, do not always take the form of prescriptions. Ask yourself: Have I designed my study for the purpose of being prescriptive? If so, then prescribe. If not, then the prescriptions, although interesting, are bootlegged onto a study designed to do other things. To focus on prescriptions when they are not integral to your design is to take effort away from where you planned it to be.

This set of questions and answers addresses some of the practical considerations that arise in bringing a research process to fruition. They are secondary considerations, preceded in priority by commitments: to produce data the best ways you can; to have something to say—a matter of analysis and imagination; to intend to write well; and, not least, to revise and revise and revise.

Beginning and Ending

However the substantive sections of a work are organized, they conventionally include an introduction and an ending. The introduction usually states the purpose of the article or manuscript, presents the problem of inquiry, provides a general

context to the problem, and foreshadows what is to come. Since authors do not know with sufficient certainty what is to come until after they have written it, they often write the introduction last. Unlike the introduction that may be written last, the very beginning of your manuscript—the title—is best written, reconsidered, and rewritten throughout the writing process. It should convey, at its essence, what your manuscript is about. The title is also the first thing a reader (or publisher) sees and, on the basis of what it conveys, that reader may or may not go on to read more.

The ending should be a conclusion, which is different from a summary. Summaries reiterate what has been said; conclusions deal with the “so whats.” Conclusions stimulate thought and transcend the substantive content presented earlier. Wolcott (2009) emphasizes the importance of the concluding section. He cautions the writer to “recognize and resist the temptation to offer dramatic but irrelevant endings, or conclusions that raise issues not addressed thoroughly in the research” (p. 114). And instead of trying to tie everything up into neat, understandable packages, Wolcott suggests that you leave yourself and readers “pondering the essential issues that perplex you” (p. 115).

Take care to schedule time for completion of the beginnings and the endings—more time, in fact, than you may want to believe is necessary. Review what you have already written as preparation for writing these sections. Review your research questions so that you are certain to address all of them, and take note of what emerged as consequential that you did not anticipate with your questions. Finally, worry yourself continually with the questions: Am I doing full justice to what I learned? Am I saying enough for readers to appreciate what I intend as *my* contribution to the matter under study?

When you have completed these sections or chapters, read them together. Have you done in the end what you announced in the beginning that you meant to do? Have you discussed all of the questions you raised? If not, why not? Your opening chapter presents readers with expectations that they anticipate will be met in the course of subsequent chapters, and that will culminate in the final chapter.

Finally, pay attention to how you end your report, to the last sentence the reader reads. Delamont (1992) analyzed examples from the endings of ethnographies and other qualitative works. She found that some had academic “essence” statements, others pointed forward to the next project, and yet others, often the ones most journalistic in style, left the last word with a research participant. Pulling several favorite ethnographies from my shelves, I end this chapter with last sentences from Munoz, Tsing, and Myerhoff.

Academic Essence Example: “Working together means taking on the risks and vulnerabilities of exploring the places where something catches: the unsettled and unsettling *fronteras* where the unfinished stories of identity are lived” (Munoz, 1995, p. 257).

Looking Forward Example: “Uma Adang’s poem speaks to both Indonesians and foreigners within shifting and limited frames of meaning. This—not timeless truth—is the power of all creative work. We reread and write today to draw from this heritage and move beyond it” (Tsing, 1993, p. 301).

An Imaginary Conversation with an Informant Who Had Died—Myerhoff Speaking: “I still don’t know Hebrew or Aramaic or Yiddish or Torah or Talmud. Neither do I know the prayer, nor can I light the fire or find my way to the place in the forest. But now I have been told about these things and perhaps this will be sufficient” (Myerhoff, 1979, p. 272).

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Goodall, H. L., Jr. (2008). *Writing qualitative inquiry: Self, stories, and academic life*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. (specifically recommended for narrative writing and information on publishing qualitative work)
- Lamott, A. (1995). *Bird by bird: Some instructions on writing and life*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Lichtman, M. (Ed.). (2011). *Understanding and evaluating qualitative educational research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wolcott, H. (2009). *Writing up qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zinsser, W. (1988). *Writing to learn: How to write and think clearly about any subject at all*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

EXERCISES

1. Return to the *research practice* exercise (last visited in Chapter 7). In the same small groups that worked on data analysis, begin to write up your section of a group report. The purpose of this exercise is to practice making decisions about how to express themes, patterns, and descriptions; what to use as supporting evidence; and which interviewee words to include and which to leave out. In your own individual research (or in an actual group project), you would want to be fully acquainted with all the data and the relationships among them as a whole. For this practice exercise, however, work only with the data for your section.
2. After each group has shaped a written report for its section, decide on a seemingly logical order for the combined report. Then, group by group, read the “class report.” Discuss the ways in which different groups reported their data.
3. Individually or in small groups, seek out qualitative research articles that reflect different methodological approaches (such as ethnography, grounded theory, narrative research, phenomenology). Compare and contrast the presentation of data and writing styles. How do the articles help you think about your own writing, the approach you are taking, and what you are including, excluding, and would like to do differently? (A particularly helpful text for this exercise is Marilyn Lichtman’s edited book *Understanding and Evaluating Qualitative Educational Research* [2011], which contains articles from various research journals, accompanied by Lichtman’s comments and suggestions.)

CHAPTER 9

Improvising a Song of the World: Arts Based Research

Our knowledge is contextual and only contextual. Ordering and invention coincide: we call their collaboration "knowledge." The mind is a blue guitar on which we improvise the song of the world.

(Dillard, 1982, p. 56)

In an exhibition on the Buddhist Cave Temples of Xiangtangshan, the University of Chicago Art Museum includes video footage of ethnographic and archaeological fieldwork as a kind of modern-day pilgrimage to the caves. A music professor at Oberlin takes his students to the campus art museum to look at paintings of storms and asks each student to choose a work of art, study it, and then compose a piece of music inspired by the work. In this era of "blurred genres" (Geertz, 1983/2000), skills and knowledge from diverse disciplines creatively combine to produce novel insights as well as new ways of approaching learning and presenting inquiry.

In the past, social scientists generally desired to be perceived as scientific, not artistic. Because science was associated with fact and objectivity, social scientists used language considered objective, precise, neutral, and nonmetaphoric (Richardson, 1990; Stewart, 1989). The song of the world could be reported but not sung. Some anthropologists wrote poetry or short stories for literary journals, and others published field memoirs (often under pseudonyms), but they usually did not mix direct discussion of their field experiences, personal reflections, and poetic compositions with their ethnographic writing (Bruner, 1993).

As research paradigms and their accompanying theories and philosophies shift, methodologies change as well, spawning new ways of approaching the social world and resulting in fresh insights, appreciations, and commitments. Transformations in the sociopolitical and ideological climate contribute to critiques of and changes in research paradigms. In the 1960s and 1970s, for example, the civil rights movement, feminist activism, and critical pedagogy helped draw attention to ways in which empirical research ignored voices of women, people of color, and the marginalized and oppressed. With its potential for eliciting and presenting previously disregarded perspectives, the interpretive paradigm found greater acceptance within the academy, and qualitative research courses expanded throughout university offerings.

Schuster, Massimo
(photographer). 2012. *Big
Mother Earth Puppet,
Glover, VT.*



During this democratizing movement, participatory action research took hold in Latin America and, to a lesser extent, in other parts of the world. Paulo Freire of Brazil created popular theater forums out of conversations and interviews as a means to both educate and politicize peasant farmers and low-power groups. Inspired by Freire, Augusto Boal (2006) developed, wrote about, and held workshops on the Theatre of the Oppressed. His techniques gave “the audience a part in the dramatic actions, by discussing plans for change, directing the action, and/or trying out different solutions through drama” (Leavy, 2009, p. 165). Performance theater moved into politics in the United States with “politically loaded ‘rituals’ of resistance vigils, chants, chaining demonstrators to building columns, burning flag and bras, and wearing dramatic garb” (Gergen & Gergen, 2012, p. 34). Between 1975 and 1998, the Bread and Puppet Theater annually held the Resurrection Circus on a farm in northeastern Vermont. Tens of thousands flocked to take part in participatory-political theater on topics ranging from climate change to tyranny. These were artistic ways of engaging the general population in inquiry into their own lives and into the macro discourses that shaped their experiences.

Before long, participatory-performance and creative presentation styles found their way into the academy. First in conference presentations and then in published papers, academics began performing their research—as story, poetry, drama, and even dance. The focus in those early days was on presentation—on how research findings could be shaped into a drama or poem or painting. Throughout much of the 1990s, these representational practices were called *experimental* or *alternative*, labels that “reinscribed traditional ethnographic practices as the standard, the known, accepted, preferred, tried-and-true mode of doing and representing qualitative research” (Richardson, 2000, p. 930). But those who were combining art with their research realized that their work was more than a representational practice or a translating of research findings into artistic forms: Using an artistic approach shaped the knowing as well as the

form of presentation. The creative, artistic ways through which researchers approach and represent their work currently tends to be called *arts based research*.

“Arts based research was—and is—an effort to utilize the forms of thinking and forms of representation that the arts provide as means through which the world can be better understood and through such understanding comes the enlargement of mind” (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. xi). A major aspect of arts based research is its openness and capacity for surprise. Effective arts based research, as described by Barone and Eisner (2012), includes a careful investigation, a transformation of research discoveries into an “aesthetic substance upon their embodiment within an aesthetic form,” and “the production of disequilibrium within the percipient of the work as s/he vicariously re-experiences what has been designed” (p. 20). The artistic form, whether it be narrative, poetry, or paintings, expresses a meaning and significance that is research based; unlike traditional research reports, the artistic representation is meant to engage the empathic and emotional participation of its audience.

Innovations in research methods go hand in hand not only with shifts in ideologies, but also with innovations in technologies. Arts based research, in particular, has been assisted by and has made use of recent technologies such as the Internet, digital cameras, sound files, Photoshop, and so forth (Leavy, 2009). In addition to disseminating research through journals and books, arts based researchers use other avenues as well, including the galleries and theaters.

When a research goal is to get others to not only analytically understand the social situation of a person or a group of people, but to also empathically *feel* some aspect of that life, arts based inquiry is particularly valuable. Arts based research can be, therefore, particularly “useful in studies involving *identity work*” through “communicating information about the experiences associated with differences, diversity, and prejudice” (Leavy, 2009, p. 13). It can be used to give “voice to subjugated perspectives....to those who have been marginalized as a result of

Similar representations, varied meanings: *In these photos, the form of representation is similar. Each figure—the Virgen de Guadalupe in an indigenous Triqui village church in Oaxaca, a glimpse of a woman from the village, and an outsider (this book’s author)—is wearing a huipil, the traditional Triqui dress. The content of each representation, however, is different and, together with the form, signifies something quite different for each one. Meaning in arts based research is interpreted from form and content together. Both are needed and cannot be separated from one another.*



their race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, disability, or other factors" (Leavy, 2009, p. 13). Arts based research also can "be employed as a means of creating *critical awareness* or *raising consciousness*" (Leavy, 2009, p. 13) and thus contributes to research focused on issues of social justice and change.

WHY ENGAGE IN ARTS BASED RESEARCH?

If we learn to "read" and "write" in a manner similar to the way the painter paints, we may well be able to sensualize prose which represents others so that our books become the study of human beings as well as human behavior.

(Stoller, 1989, p. 40)

To do arts based research well is similar to being multilingual. You cannot communicate in a second language if you speak only a handful of phrases, despite all your good intentions to get your point across. To do arts based research well, you need some proficiency in the art form you chose, ideally both training and practice. So, why would anyone choose to take on this added requirement for an entire research project or a part of it? I suggest five reasons. Each are discussed in this section. Effective arts based research

1. Is a different way of knowing and contributes to not only how we come to know but also what we know.
2. Contributes an element of surprise and often disturbs previous conceptions of the social world and thus provokes further questioning.
3. Engages an audience wider than the academy.
4. Can be both playful and political. By conveying meaning in a way that gets others to "feel" some aspect of what it means to stand in another's shoes, it can move people toward addressing social problems and injustices.
5. Fulfills a longing within the researcher's psyche for creatively and meaningfully engaging with the world.

First, arts based research contributes in various ways to how and what we know. As Barone and Eisner (2012) state, "It addresses complex and often subtle interactions and...provides an image of those interactions in ways that make them noticeable" (p. 3). When you collect and analyze data to create a drama, you interact with them differently than if you are doing thematic analysis. You hear words spoken by interviewees in a distinctive way when you think of those words as a series of monologues that play off each other or as a dialog in which different interviewees speak to each other and to the audience. You see connections and disagreements that you may not have noticed before. You hear the hesitations and you feel the passion. And you seek to convey the cacophony of sounds, the silences, the laughter and the tears that can accompany expressive acts. When you do so well, those reading or, better yet, watching the drama

will remember it much longer than after reading a scholarly academic report on a similar topic.

Second, arts based research contributes to surprise as well as to disequilibrium in both researcher and audience. The surprise happens when, no matter the art form, the artist sees the shape that the pieces take at the moment in which they suggest completion, even while suggesting nothing is ever complete. With this surprise comes a sense of delight, even when working on dark and disturbing topics, because the artist knows that the form conveys a meaning and significance in some new way. Bill Jones's choreography did this when he "made visible the beauty in the movements of the physically handicapped" (Gergen & Gergen, 2012, p. 29). It is this new way that can be disquieting as it "may persuade readers or percipients of the work (including the artist herself) to revisit the world from a different direction, seeing it through fresh eyes, and thereby calling into question a singular, orthodox point of view" (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 16).

Third, effective arts based research engages people beyond the academy because it is not (generally) a highly technical report written in the accepted jargon of a specific disciplinary or theoretical circle. Frequently, dialog is part of this engagement, particularly if the art form is *performative* and staged as, for example, a drama or poetry reading, or is a photo or painting exhibition. Space for dialog with the audience may be part of the performance, as often happens following ethnodramas, or it may occur more informally, for example, between several people standing before research-based paintings. Audience members then become more than passive recipients of research "findings" and engage with the research through their own perceptions, experiences, and emotions.

Fourth, arts based research can serve to address the political and to move people in social justice directions. Barone and Eisner (2012) state that "the compositions of artists and arts based researchers can redirect conversations about social phenomena by enabling others to vicariously reexperience the world" (p. 20). This vicarious experiencing can create a kind of empathy, compassion, and action to address injustices, prejudices, or inequities made evident and felt.

Finally, arts based research fulfills a creative need within the human psyche, involving the kind of work into which time and self disappear, and providing a greater sense of meaning than work that stays only in the head. My story of how I came to combine research and poetry tells of this craving:

For 14 years, I had been working for a masters, a doctorate, and then tenure. Other needs, long ignored or put on hold, suddenly had an opening and clamored for attention. Ten days after moving to a small remote village in Costa Rica, I stepped into a hole, tore ligaments and cartilage in my left knee, and hobbled around on home-made crutches for months. During that time, I wrote extensively in my journal where pages chronicle my longing for more creativity, to find a medium for tapping and expressing some connection to the soul.

By the following year when I did the interviews with Doña Juana, I had taken several poetry writing workshops and classes.... Although I did not plan to experiment with poetic transcription when I interviewed Doña Juana,

upon receiving the transcripts, I could not ignore the opportunity. I was so immersed in poetry at the time, that the poetic impulse took over. My involvement in poetry continues along with my interest in creative research presentations. For me, it's a way of reframing an "either/or" perspective into one of "both/and," of moving from dichotomous thinking to more divergent thought. It's the transition from sauntering along dirt roads without thinking about one's feet to the hop-swing on crutches where no movement is taken for granted. (Glesne, 1997, p. 205)

What happened when I began combining research and poetry is addressed later in this chapter. At its essence, arts based research invites spirit, imagination, and hope into our work. As Bruner (1986) states, "It is in the performance of an expression that we re-experience, re-live, re-create, re-tell, re-construct, and re-fashion our culture" (p. 11).

In summary, arts based research can be both evocative and provocative, as well as deeply meaningful for research participants, research audience, and the researcher. The next section provides examples of several different genres of arts based research and how some researchers have approached such work.

APPROACHES TO ARTS BASED RESEARCH

Not only does knowledge come in different forms, the forms of its creation differ.

(Eisner, 2008, p. 5)

As noted earlier, arts based research is not limited to research representation, and for some modes such as autoethnography, every aspect of the project will be informed by the artistic procedures from research questions to representation. Other projects may resemble more traditional approaches to qualitative research, with the art form becoming more prominent during data analysis and representation. It helps, however, to have an inkling of the notion that you intend to play with an artistic technique early on. If you go into an inquiry project knowing that you want to create an ethnodrama, for example, then you will most likely craft your interview questions a bit differently than if you plan to engage in thematic analysis. When creating ethnodramas, you focus on dialog and how people's words support and challenge each other. When developing a short story, you are more likely to focus on your observational fieldnotes, writing descriptively of the setting and actions as well as using words of research participants. When writing up data as a play, poetry, or narrative, you still read, reread, analyze, and interpret your data, but how you think about them and how you order them vary with form, stressing, in the process, different issues. The same data can tell slightly different stories—a somewhat disconcerting, but fascinating realization in itself.

The following sections highlight drama, poetics, autoethnography, fiction, and the visual as arts based research methods. Examples are presented to encourage you

to consider and possibly try out different forms. Some research experiences may be best expressed in a particular form or with particular artistic skills, but this presupposes that you are familiar with and versed in a wide range of expressive styles and artistic training. For now, I encourage you to play with form, continually reflecting upon what the mode of representation allows you and the reader to know about the research participants, you as the researcher, and the meaning you are making. In the process, you may discover an urge to take workshops in poetry or drama or dance.

Ethnodrama

If we were to inhabit the speech pattern of another, and walk in the speech of another, we could find the individuality of the other and experience that individuality viscerally.

(A. D. Smith, 1993, p. xxvii)

In representing data through dramatic portrayals, the researcher crafts interview transcripts into dialog, and observation notes or documents into scenes and stage settings. The narratives are often actual ones, although editorial license is taken to construct scenes or imply conversations among people who were not necessarily together. Dramatizing data is variously referred to as ethnodrama, *performance ethnography*, *performative social science*, *ethnoperformance*, and *readers' theater*, among other labels.

Creating and performing readers' theater may be a good first step for novices seeking to portray data dramatically. Readers' theater refers "to a stage presentation of a piece of text or selected pieces of different texts that are thematically linked" (Donmoyer & Yennie-Donmoyer, 1995, p. 406). Rather than act, presenters read text selections individually, and sometimes in chorus. Staging is simple, usually involving chairs or stools and perhaps a few props. Characters rarely leave the stage, but after reading, they may back up or turn their backs to the audience. The following few lines are excerpted from Pam Kay's, readers' theater script entitled *Whose Child Is This?* (1997, p. 15). The cast included Nancy, the parent; Carol, the teacher; and Pam, the researcher.

PAM (to the audience): We had our second parent-teacher action research meeting. Carol came in a little late, and she was upset.

Nancy and Carol face each other. Carol speaks angrily to Nancy.

CAROL: Why aren't you giving Doug his medicine in the morning before he comes to school?

NANCY (quietly): We are all out of it. I was going to see Dr. Dave on Friday, but he is away for a week.

CAROL (still angry): The school nurse called the pharmacy, and the pharmacy says you should have 12 days supply left!

NANCY: Well, I don't.

Carol and Nancy turn away from the audience.

Kay's piece explores tensions experienced by a parent and a teacher around a child's emotional and behavioral issues. Data for the script were taken from a case study that was part of a multisite inquiry into prevention of serious emotional disturbance. Kay shaped her script by sorting and selecting data gathered through individual interviews with the parent (Nancy) and the teacher (Carol), her fieldnotes from team meetings, notebooks kept by Carol and Nancy, and fieldnotes kept by a parent liaison employed by the project. Carol's and Nancy's words are verbatim excerpts from the data. Pam used her own voice as narrator and stage director as a way of furnishing explanations and transitions.

Saldaña (2011) differentiates between labeling a representation as *dramatic* and as *performative*. He sees a piece as performative only when it is embodied or performed, and he uses the term "ethnodrama" to refer to the script, and "ethnotheatre" to indicate the "craft and artistic techniques of theatre or media production" (p. 12). Ethnodrama is a particularly good medium for highlighting tensions, conflicts, and differing perspectives. Creating an ethnodrama takes a special kind of thinking about what has been said in interviews and noted in observation journals. Instead of patterns or themes, you have to find the *story line*, or "progression of events within the plot" (Saldaña, 2005, p. 15). You have to consider the most appropriate way to present the drama. Do you want one character telling the story in a monologue or several characters in dialog? What are the acts within the story line, and what scenes accompany each act? Analysis of your data is integral to creating the story line, acts, and scenes for the play. You work with your transcripts and fieldnotes, journal entries, and other documents to reduce them without changing the intent of what has been said. You choose the bits that are best for dramatic impact. And you also think about what props, costumes, lighting, and technology you want to use. "Less is more," warns Saldaña (2005, p. 28). Rather than try to build a set, project an image of a particular setting, as McCall (2000) did when she used slides of farm landscapes as the backdrop for her play based on interviews with fifty-two Midwestern women farmers.

Some ethnodramatists choose to "preserve the precise language of the interviewee" (Saldaña, 2011, p. 17) and thus keep the text verbatim. Others adapt transcripts by cutting and pasting selected portions into a more succinct and aesthetically shaped text as demonstrated in Figure 9.1, where Saldaña (2005, p. 21) shows how he reduced words in an interview for a section of a monologue in his ethnodrama "*Maybe Someday, If I'm Famous...*". Yet others write the text in their own words, inspired by their research or by their own experiences and memories. Mary Gergen (Gergen & Gergen, 2012), for example, plays with postmodern ideas, feminist theory, and her own experiences in her performative piece *Women as Spectacle, or Facing Off: Cavorting with Carnival Knowledge*. Her playful, challenging, and poignant script is a one-woman monologue about aging as a female in the United States.

Johnny Saldaña's edited text, *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre* (2005), provides nine examples of different approaches to the dramatic portrayal of data. For one example, Jose Casas's analysis of interviews resulted in an

JOHNNY SALDAÑA'S INTERVIEW WITH BARRY	ETHNODRAMATIC MONOLOGUE
BARRY: And I remember going to see the shows. I remember the interviews afterwards, sitting out on the grass, talking about what we thought about the shows, and what we thought about the longitudinal study. I remember always having interns sitting in the back of the class, watching us do drama. JOHNNY: What shows do you remember? BARRY: I remember a lot of the Childsplay stuff. [<i>Childsplay is a local professional touring theatre company for young audiences</i>] JOHNNY: Any particular titles or images come to mind? BARRY: I remember <i>Clarissa's Closet</i>, which was interesting because I performed that last year. And I was thinking, "You know I've seen this, I've seen this, it was Childsplay came did it." And I also remember one about, I recall an Oriental setting, there were masks, uh, I don't know much about it, like journeying something. JOHNNY: Any other images? BARRY: I remember them coming out and taking their bows and then talking to us after the show, and the energy they had, and just the raw energy and everything. They were answering questions and they seemed to be having so much fun just being there, and I think that's when I first decided I wanted to be an actor. So I saw that and it was an amazing feeling, there was just energy, you could see it, it was emanating from them, and just from having done this show. And it was just a show for a bunch of elementary kids, and yet it was still, it was a show, you know? And it was, that was when it first, I first started thinking, "Hm, this is something I want to look into."	BARRY: And I remember going to see the shows, a lot of Childsplay stuff. I remember them coming out and taking their bows and then talking to us after the show. And the energy they had! They were answering questions and they seemed to be having so much fun just being there. And I think that's when I first decided I wanted to be an actor. It was an amazing feeling! That was when I first started thinking. "Hm, this is something I want to look into."

FIGURE 9.1 The Making of an Ethnodrama

Source: From J. Saldaña. (2005). *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, p. 21.

ethnodrama titled *14* (2005). He used as his starting point fourteen deaths from a border crossing in Arizona. The ethnodrama was performed as a series of monologues in which Casas projected slides at the beginning of each new voice, giving the name, occupation, and hometown of the interviewee. Some pieces were performed in Spanish. He juxtaposed the monologues in strategic ways, putting the story of a woman who crossed the border with strangers, for example, next to that of an elderly rancher who declares, "Listen I won't shoot at anything during the day...at night...that's a totally different story" (Casas, 2005, p. 52). As another example, Chapman, Swedberg, and Sykes created an ethnodramatic dialog called "Wearing the Secret Out" (2005), based on interviews with gay, lesbian, and queer physical education teachers. They wrote their ethnodrama as a forum to provoke discussion about homophobia and heterosexism in schools.

Health and social service professionals, in particular, have turned to ethnodrama as a way to represent research. Their dramas, sometimes performed in collaboration with interviewees, are not only informative and instructive, but often cathartic. "Ethnodramatic performance allows victims of mental illness, sexual abuse or rape, substance abuse or plastic surgery, *in partnership with healthcare professionals and academics*, to explore and examine, through dramatic devices, what it is like from the inside looking out" (Morgan, Mienczakowski, & Smith, 2001, p. 164). Mienczakowski has been particularly active in creating ethnodramas that are performed in a variety of theater spaces. His intent, he states, is to create "a form of public-voice ethnography that has emancipatory and educational potential" (Mienczakowski, 1995, p. 364) by providing a forum for research participants to tell others about their health concerns, whether dependency upon alcohol or living with schizophrenia.

Well-known playwrights also have created forms of ethnotheatre. Anna Deavere Smith became known in the 1990s as she wrote and performed documentary dramas based on her interviews with people involved in the Crown Heights riots in Brooklyn (*Fires in the Mirror*), and in the Los Angeles riots (*Twilight: Los Angeles 1992*).¹ Eve Ensler's work, *The Vagina Monologues*, protests violence against women and has become an annual Valentine's Day occurrence since 1998. This drama is based on Ensler's (2001) interviews with more than 200 women from throughout the world.

Whether performed or read, ethnodrama can be used to juxtapose the voices of research participants, and thereby to present multiple perspectives and exemplify the complexity of a phenomenon. To be sure, the researcher/writer shapes the drama but constructs it so that readers might understand more fully what it means to be, for example, the teacher *and* the parent of a child with emotional and behavioral problems. As Saldaña (2005) states, "Ethnotheatre reveals a living culture through its character-participants, and if successful, the audience learns about their world and what it's like to live in it" (p. 14).

Poetics

Poetry and qualitative inquiry have made good partners. Leggo (2008) describes poetry as forming "textual spaces that invite and create ways of

knowing and becoming in the world" (p. 167). As with the many names for combining research and drama, research-based poetry also has many labels, including poetic inquiry, poetic transcription, ethnographic poetics, research poetry, performance poetry, and interpretive poetry. Like those constructing ethnodrama, people who write research-based poetry may craft their poems or poetic pieces out of the words of interviewees and/or out of their own observations, experiences, and reflections. Poetry also may be used to convey the researcher's emotional response to some incident or aspect of the research (Leavy, 2009).

The examples presented in this section are what I refer to as **poetic transcriptions**,² where the researcher fashions poem-like pieces from the words of interviewees (Glesne, 1997; Richardson, 2000, 2002). These compositions are also sometimes described as *found poetry* (Butler-Kisber, 2002). In them, the writer aspires to get at the essence of what was said, the emotions expressed, and the rhythm of speaking. The process involves word reduction while illuminating the wholeness and interconnectedness of thoughts. When poetry is created out of interview transcripts, it makes the researcher pay close attention to the data, thinking about each word, its meaning, the intentions of the speaker, and the larger meanings of which the statement is a part. Through shaping the presentation of the words of an interviewee, the researcher creates a third voice that is neither the interviewee's nor the researcher's but is a combination of both. This third voice dissolves any appearance of separation between observer and observed while illuminating that all research interpretations are shaped by both.

Figure 9.2 shows some of the process I used in making a poetic transcription from transcripts of over ten hours of interviews with Puerto Rican educator Doña Juana. The left column contains a portion of actual interview transcript. The right side begins with Version 1, a poetic rendering of the transcript in chronological order. The chronological rendering continued with other sections of the transcript that seemed related. Then, I began eliminating words and moving them around to create the poem found in Version 2 on the right side of the figure.

Katie Furney (1997) created a compilation of interviewee voices by assembling the words of elementary school children to create a poetic transcription in which the children describe their school. At times, she changed tenses and pronouns, added lines at the beginning of the stanzas to give them some structure, and used conjunctions to hook similar comments from individual students together. Otherwise, the words are those the students spoke. Furney was researching practices in schools with a reputation for excellence in inclusion. She states that as she worked with the words of the students, "I heard echoes of the voices of teachers and administrators. I heard talk of engagement, caring relationships, students as active learners, and students who felt accepted and prized. I heard a sense of self-worth: the kind that comes from being cared for" (pp. 119–120). Furney's poetic transcription

TRANSCRIPT	POETIC NARRATIVE
C: If I asked you to use a metaphor to describe yourself as a professor, what would you say you were like? Someone I asked said that she was a bridge and then she told me why. What metaphor comes to mind for you?	Version 1: Chronologically and linguistically faithful to the transcript.
J: I would be a flying bird.	I would be a flying bird.
C: A flying bird. Tell me about it. How are you a flying bird?	I want to move so fast so I can see quickly, everything. I wish I could look at the world with the eyes of God, to give strength to those that need.
J: Because I want to move so fast.	Version 2: Draws from other sections of the interviews, takes more license with words.
C: Mm-hmmm. Cover a lot of territory.	
J: Yes. Yes.	I am a flying bird
C: Are you any kind of bird or just any bird?	moving fast, seeing quickly, looking with the eyes of God from the tops of trees.
J: Well, any bird because I don't want to mention some birds, some birds here are destructive.	
C: Are what?	How hard for country people picking green worms from fields of tobacco, sending their children to school, not wanting them to suffer as they suffer.
J: Are destructive. They destroy and I don't want to...	In the urban zone, students worked at night and so they slept in school. Teaching was the real university.
C: No, you don't want to be one of them. No. You're just a bird that moves fast.	
J: That moves fast and sees from the tops of trees. So I can see quickly.	
C: See quickly, see everything.	
I: Everything.	
J: So you can see me?	So I came to study to find out how I could help.
C: I can. I can see you, a flying bird.	I am busy here at the university, there is so much to do. But the university is not the island.
J: I wish I could look at the world with the eyes of God.	
C: With the eyes of what?	
J: Of God, of that spiritual power that can give strength.	I am a flying bird moving fast, seeing quickly so I can give strength, so I could have that rare feeling of being useful.
C: That can give strength? Strength?	
J: Yes, to those that need.	

FIGURE 9.2 The Making of a Poetic Transcription

Source: From C. Glesne. (1997). That rare feeling: Re-presenting research through poetic transcription. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3(2), 202–221.

(1997, p. 120) portrays a school in which students, parents, and educators can take pride:

SCHOOL IS FUN—AND YOU LEARN A LOT TOO

*I love school because it's cool
and I have lots of friends in school.
I have a lot of friends to spend time with
and they like school too.
If you didn't go to school you wouldn't know
as much as if you did go to school.
You learn stuff that you never knew before.*

*The teachers
usually listen to what you have to say.
They never ignore you and they let you
explain your own feelings.
They let you choose your own books
and your own topics in reading and writing.
They help us read and spell,
and they combine the stuff
that we are learning.*

*Sometimes you need help:
If you raise your hand quietly and ask
a question, your teacher will usually help you
get the right answer.
Our teachers help us work out and solve
our problems—
we can talk to our teachers.*

*Our teachers listen to us and respect
our privacy.
You don't just sit there all the time,
you get to do projects.
I like doing things with my hands,
like math on the computer,
helping other kids on the computer,
cleaning the classroom,
drama, breaks, recess,
my job.*

*There are some things that aren't so great:
there's never enough time to finish projects,
or to do math, reading, art, music and
library activities.
There's never enough food
or time to eat lunch.
The water fountain should be colder.
I hate getting into trouble and
I didn't like it when I broke up
with my girlfriend.*

*If I could change anything, I'd have
more projects, longer math and science classes, and
a longer school day to finish my work.
I'd like a bigger library with bigger books
and
a bigger bathroom for the teachers.
I would like more homework
(but I don't want any!)
I'd like a bigger playground, more sports,
a longer recess.
We should have more food, seconds every day.
I'd like them to put a different color of paint
on the walls—maybe something brickish.*

*Kids should run the school!
We would learn about space every day,
we'd watch Power Ranger videos,
and have pizza at every lunch.
All of the kids could pick up trash outside
of the school and get paid for it.*

*I like school—
I usually like all of my teachers
and they like me for how I am and I like that.
It's a cool school,
people should stay in school and be cool.*

Carolyn Mears sought a way to document and learn from the tragedy at Columbine High School, a trauma that her son personally experienced as a Columbine student. To ground the research in lived experience and provide a contextual basis for her findings, Mears used a form of poetic transcription to communicate the emotions and diverse responses expressed by the parents in her study. The success of this approach, recognized in 2006 by the American Educational Research Association for its contribution to qualitative inquiry, led Mears to write a methods text describing her process, an approach she calls “gateway” because it “provides a means of connection, a way toward deeper understanding of a metaphorical ‘community’ of experience” (Mears, 2009, p. 9). Her book provides useful suggestions for and examples of working with interview data to provide well-crafted interpretive displays as in this one with Lillian (Mears 2009, 197–198). Only the beginning of a much longer piece is reprinted here:

APRIL 20TH...

*It was lunchtime. I was coming down Wadsworth.
All of a sudden,
Three cop cars going so fast—
About 6 feet apart.
It scared me to death—I thought,
Oh my gosh, there's been a wreck.
It has to do with high school kids.*

*You know how crazy the kids are in cars.
 That's always been my biggest fear.*
*I decided to go past the school,
 See what was going on.
 The street was all blocked off.
 I saw kids running.
 One said, There's somebody inside shooting people up.
 There's people dying in there.
 I just went home—
 less than a mile—
 Was Jenny okay?
 I got home
 Her car was in the driveway.
 So the only horrible minutes I had,
 I am so lucky,
 Was from Leawood to home.*
*Jenny was here.
 Other girls too,
 Jenny and her friends.
 Jenny didn't open a book all through high school.
 She didn't study.*
*They had lunch together—
 Gone to the mall to eat.
 They were going to come back here to watch TV.
 They had dropped a boy off at school.
 He went in,
 Into the library to study.
 He was shot.*

Source: C. Mears. (2009). Interviewing for education and social science research: The gateway approach. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Faulkner (2009) states that “poets’ reasons for engaging in archival, historical, and interview research as the basis for their poetry range from desiring to use and create a voice beyond the individual, wanting to explore intersections between the personal and the historical, wanting to take the role of ‘poet as archivist’ or activist, to the use of poetry as resistance” (p. 36). When I began working with Doña Juana’s transcripts, I did not have a reason in mind other than the desire to engage with her words in a poetic way. The process, however, led me to sociocultural and historical texts on Puerto Rico. As I worked with Doña Juana’s transcripts to shape poem-like pieces, I wanted to better understand the political and historical context of her narrative and then to be able to integrate this context with the poetic transcriptions. In one of the poetic transcriptions, I began by shaping a chronological rendering of Doña Juana’s professional life, but I ended with a poetic rendering about Spanish and then U.S. control of the island and its educational methods as exemplified through events in lives of Doña Juana and her family. Although you may begin with one set of intentions, it is when your poetry takes you somewhere else that you know the process is working.

Laurel Richardson (1994a, 2000, 2002) writes poetry and about poetic representation. She also offers good advice to anyone beginning work in this area: Take classes and workshops in poetry writing, read poetry, listen to poetry, and “revise, revise, revise” (2002, p. 882). Richardson (2002, p. 882) reminds us that

*A line
break does
not
a poem
make.*

Richardson also discusses the use of imagery and metaphoric language—points to be emphasized. Poetic representations shaped from abstract, general language will never succeed as well as concrete observations, images, and metaphors—all with implications for thick description in fieldnotes and in-depth experiential questioning in interviews.

Your research poetry may or may not arrive at the artistic sensibilities of a good poem. Never fear, poets often keep a file of “rich refusals” that they revisit periodically to rework until the words, rhythm, and feeling come together. And if some of you feel intimidated by the thought of writing poetry, try writing research poetry as an analytic practice, rather than as a final product. The process of doing poetic transcription can assist you as a writer and an ethnographer to focus on what is essential to the story, and to juxtapose items and concepts that you would not put together otherwise. Poetic transcription, like drama, asks you to let “ordering and invention coincide” (Dillard, 1982, p. 56). Doing so often rewards you with new insights and different points of view.

Poetic transcription depends heavily on another’s words, with the researcher snipping and snipping, as Behar (1993) describes her work with Esperanza’s *historias*, only to “patch together a new tongue” (p. 19). In contrast, autoethnographic accounts—the topic of the next section—relieve the writer (or give a reprieve) of speaking for the other (Richardson, 2000). Autoethnographic writing, however, is similar to poetic writing in that both can “push feelings to the forefront capturing heightened moments of social reality as if under a magnifying glass” (Leavy, 2009, p. 64).

Autoethnography

Each time I have attempted to do theoretical work it has been on the basis of elements from my experience.

(Foucault, cited in Rajchman, 1988, p. 108)

Autoethnography was introduced in Chapter 1. Through autoethnographic techniques, researchers delve into narratives of the self, and through analysis of self-narratives, they may reflect upon, augment discussions of, and challenge prevailing perspectives about the larger sociocultural context. Autoethnography has been a valuable approach for exploring personal experiences of oppression and social stigma, such as through racism, sexism, or homophobia; traumas such as abuse, illness, and accidents; and life passages such as motherhood or death of

a loved one. Autoethnographic writing may be a section or a chapter in a longer work; it can also represent *the* study itself.

"As an autoethnographer," states Ellis (2009), "I am both the author and focus of the story, the one who tells and the one who experiences, the observer and the observed, the creator and the created" (p. 13). Autoethnography is a study of yourself with data collected through extensive reliving of past events through writing about them and reflecting upon emotions and responses in the context of your sociocultural milieu. Others may be interviewed and documents sought out to help with remembering (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). The process is arts based in that the telling tends to make use of literary techniques to dramatically convey the narrative and accompanying emotional experiences in such a way that readers feel the experiences and come to know about the personal phenomena (grief, stigma, etc.) both sensually and analytically. The autoethnographer thereby seeks to "make characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders" (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 4).

Tillmann-Healy and Kiesinger (2001) combined autoethnography and narrative ethnography in their explorations of bulimia. Each first wrote autobiographically about her struggles with bulimia; then, they interviewed each other about their experiences and wrote biographically about the other's experience; and finally, they responded to each other's writing. Of their work, they state, "We conducted our study as much with our hearts as with our heads" (p. 103). The intense emotional work did not stop with data collection and was fully a part of the writing. A strength of autobiographical writing is its ability to "raise self-consciousness and thereby promote reflexivity" (Leavy, 2009, p. 40), but this type of writing is not without risks. As you can perhaps imagine of a study in which you explored a personal trauma, or even an epiphany, "autoethnography requires the researcher to make him- or herself vulnerable" (Leavy, 2009, p. 40). The private becomes public and open to comment and, sometimes, criticism.

For examples of autoethnographic work, I draw on the dissertation writing of Jacob Diaz and Saberal Bates Oates. Jacob Diaz (2004) is Mexican American and in the first generation of his family to go to college and to obtain a doctorate. In his dissertation, he explored issues of Chicano identity development, racism, and higher education through inquiry into his own experiences. Diaz states that writing autoethnographically enabled him "to wrestle with the fluid nature of my identity in relation to the multiple communities" (p. 9) of which he was a part. This included wrestling with his "own demons—self-hate, sexism, heterosexism, ignorance, and preconceived ideas about success" (p. 14). And as he states, he had to "put these thoughts on paper for all to see" (p. 14). Vulnerable work, indeed. Following is an excerpt from his second chapter, "Becoming Mexican... American... Chicano in School":

Each day, those of us "magnet" kids would get on the bus at 2:40pm and snooze off and on as the one and a half hour bus ride lingered on. One of the many moments I will never forget was watching the very marked physical transitions from my new school to my neighborhood. We traveled from the manicured lawns of North Park through the industrial section of town, by several "older" neighborhoods,

and then finally stopped at my neighborhood, Lomita Village, which means village on a small hill. It was a beautiful neighborhood, I thought, but so drastically different from where I went to school each day. I was always glad to get home and be where I felt comfortable.

The many subtle differences washed over me throughout the course of my time there. The stark class differences and access to resources were very evident to me. Even the people seemed different in so many ways. I made new friends there and some always seemed to have five dollars to spend on lunch, which amazed me. Each morning, either my Mom would pack me a sandwich, chips, and a small plastic cup of juice or when she wanted to surprise me, she would reach into her wallet and give me seventy-five cents to buy lunch. I always liked eating lunch at school because then I could be like the other kids and not be made fun of because of my lunch.

These differences stand out so much more for me now than they did then. Back then, I trusted that this was a place that would afford me a better education, yet, when I graduated from the sixth grade and the option to attend the magnet junior high school presented itself, I hurriedly turned it down. I pleaded with my Mom to let me go to Keiller Middle School because I was tired of riding the bus each day. Upon reflection, I think I wanted to be with friends from my neighborhood. I did not want to feel out of place any longer. (p. 28)

Through Diaz's personal narrative, readers with very different life experiences find a way not only to understand Diaz's experiences, but also to feel aspects of those experiences as well.

Saberal Bates Oates, a higher education administrator pursuing her doctorate at a university in the South, provides another evocative example, also focused on issues of identity, race, and education. Proposing to combine autoethnography with an interview study, Oates (2014) reflects on how emotionally difficult autoethnography can be:

Since beginning this research project, memories and discoveries have been emotionally painful and breath-taking impactful. Yet, those are the very emotions that drive this journey. (p. 7)

Oates (2014) plans to inquire into her own story as well as those of white female education graduates from historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Her research questions include exploring how life experiences influenced identity and racial consciousness. She wants to understand what shaped her readiness and that of the white women to teach *all* students upon graduation. What role did the HBCUs have in their social justice dispositions and in preparing them to teach children of color and of poverty?

Following are several excerpts from Oates's autoethnographic work (2014):

I am a Civil Rights baby. My Daddy was active in our community in Virginia, serving as an advocate for education and representing a voice against racism and discrimination for what was then called "Negro" men and women. My Godfather, Daddy's best friend, was the Chief of Legal Redress for the NAACP. Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed on April 4, 1968 in Birmingham, Alabama. Sixteen days later,

my Daddy went to the jailhouse, and in the early morning he was brought home by White policemen. The next day his cold body was discovered on the steps in front of our home; his eyes shut from life forever. I was told not to question; it was best to be quiet and remember. So I did. (p. 1)

* * * * *

"Colored only" was a sign I could read before I could read any book. As a young child, I saw a cross burning in the field. Even though my friend's father told us to lie on the floor of the car, I peeked anyway, and saw a Negro man with burnt feet and burnt hands hanging from a tree. . . .

I saw a cross burning again at the window of my office in 1989 when I arrived at school where I was principal in rural North Carolina. The janitor told me it was best to be quiet, and I did what I was told out of fear; fear of what would happen next if I said anything. (p. 2)

* * * * *

I never went to an integrated school from kindergarten all the way through four years of college at an HBCU.... All I wanted was to work with my own people; my own race. I never thought about working or teaching in integrated classrooms; I had never seen them before. I never thought about teaching White children. I never thought about needing to be Black and at the same time to see and understand my White students, their White parents, and the White teachers with whom I would work side by side.... I was not conscious then that all I had witnessed would affect who I became, my identity in this world, and my identity as a teacher of White students. (p. 5)

Oates's story exemplifies how integral her autobiographical experiences are to her research. Consider what would be lost if she omitted her own story in a study of historically black colleges and universities, identity, teaching, and social justice.

Fiction

Barbara Tedlock (2000) reminds us that the ethnographic novel or short story is not a new, postmodern invention. In 1890, Adolf Bandelier published *The Delight Makers* (1890/1971), a novel set among the Pueblo Indians. More widely known is Oliver LaFarge's 1929 novel *Laughing Boy*, based on his experiences among Navajo. Anthropologists and other social scientists have been writing poems, stories, and plays since the disciplines began. These creative works, however, were usually considered something other than academic. What is new is the increased acceptance of them as ways to do research.

In ethnodrama and research poetry, writers artistically shape their representations, but generally stay close to the data. Researchers who create autoethnographies and other nonfiction pieces may employ literary techniques such as flashback, characterization, dialog, internal monologue, and action, but they also remain close to their data. In an ethnographic short story or novel, however, researchers tend to combine ethnographic insights and understandings with their own imaginations and literary techniques to tell a good story. This is not a peculiar practice of some social scientists. It is what many fiction writers do to write their works: They immerse themselves in research as a basis for their

books. They may move to a different country, where the story will be based, in order to observe and describe the scenes and settings, and they carry out extensive interviews with a wide range of people. The research novel or short story, however, is written to fulfill purposes that may differ from those of the novelist, purposes that usually are different iterations of the intent to communicate some understanding, to raise questions, to challenge assumptions, and to complicate prior explanations.

In *Drinkers, Drummers, and Decent Folk: Ethnographic Narratives of Village Trinidad* (1989), John Stewart presents a series of ethnographic short stories that had their roots in his fieldwork in Trinidad. Stewart states that writing up his research as short story allowed him to focus on an “anthropology of the inside”:

In an ethnography of the outside, that objective field to which most ethnographers are still grounded, social and cultural “structures” are the central concern. Not people. In an anthropology of the inside, how people fashion such “structures,” how they manipulate, manage or are controlled by them, become the focus. (p. 13)

Through writing up his work as fictional short stories, Stewart portrayed the complexity of social and cultural structures by focusing on actions and dilemmas of specific characters that he developed through fictional techniques. Researchers have found the use of fiction particularly effective in exploring the intricate relationships of agency and power. Leavy (2009) provides an example from research in the sex industry, where “researchers may find a disjunction between what their respondents say, what they observe, and what the literature claims.” Through the use of fictional techniques, the skilled researcher can create scenarios and characters that illuminate reasons for these disjunctions and provide “a way for accentuating the many overlapping layers of human experience” (p. 47).

Writing up aspects of your research as a fictional story, therefore, can be a useful analytical tool whether or not it results in a good story. Doing so may help you see the complicated ways in which people’s perceptions, identities, and socio-cultural structures intersect. As Leavy (2009) notes, fiction permits “the researcher to reexamine his or her findings in a new context which can lead to a refinement or elaboration of theoretical and other insights” (p. 46).

While a doctoral candidate at the University of Vermont, Phil Smith was seeking to understand issues of power and control in the lives of people with developmental disabilities. Smith creatively wrote up some of his research as short stories and included them in his dissertation. The following is an excerpt from “Food Truck’s Party Hat” (2000):³

He looks at me again, grinning again, his head moving, his whole body, really, in constant motion, he never entirely stops, some part of him always racing beyond the rest of him, beyond his own body even, moving moving moving on, tapping swinging gliding always in continuous seamless never-ending can’t-make-it-stop not-even-in-sleep motion. “Boy use jug,” he says, and laughs, eyebrows raised, a question.

No one knows, now, how Food Truck came to that phrase, or to the name Food Truck that he calls himself. He lived for over forty years at Langdon Training School, where they used to lock up all the people they called morons imbeciles epileptics retards. Remember those words? Growing up, in school, some kid sitting next to you in class would do something dumb, drop their pencil and then step on it, break it, and you'd lean over so old Mrs. Whatever-her-name-was wouldn't hear, and whisper, "What a 'tard!" just loud enough so all the kids around you could hear and laugh. "You're such a retard!" and grin, the funniest thing you had said in weeks, beaming at your own joke. I said it lots of times, impugned my brother's intelligence if he walked in my room without knocking, or broke my model airplanes, or read my science fiction books without asking. "You retard!" I'd say angrily, the worst thing I knew to call him. I didn't know Food Truck then.

Food Truck grew up at Langdon, mostly. He spent his early childhood with his parents, and then they couldn't take care of him anymore, I think, or the family doctor said—as a lot of them did back then—"Well, you know, you really should send him off to Langdon, he'll be much happier there, with his own kind." So he went off to live at Langdon as a young boy, and that was his whole life, that's really all he's known, the back wards. Course he's out now, been out for four or five years, they're all out. (pp. 79–80)

Ethnographic fiction prompts the writer and the reader to seriously consider the line between shaping and fictionalizing, along with the purpose of the telling, the intent of the researcher/writer. If the intent of the writer is to represent the sense and feel, the complex emotions, the dilemmas of everyday life, and the complicated ways in which structures, power, and agency combine, then the ethnographic short story can be an effective vehicle for entering that world.

Visual

While modes of writing dominate in arts based research, some researchers make use of visual art forms such as painting (Clark, 1999; Clark/Keefe, 2002; Sullivan, 2008) and photography (Mitchell & Allnutt, 2008), as well as other art forms such as dance (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2008) and music. This section provides some brief examples. You may also want to revisit the discussion of film and photography as documentation in Chapter 3.

Clark/Keefe (2014) describes her work as a visual artist/researcher: "Sensations and reverberations from the act of negotiating the necessity of laying logical prose over ideas that have sprung a thousand unruly (yet relevant) leaks come onto canvas in a state of suspended animation and in visual form" (p. 111). Trained as an artist, Clark/Keefe first explored arts based research through painting as a way to synthesize dissertation data (Clark, 1999) from her research with academic women from working-class backgrounds who were of the first generation in their families to attend college. More recently, she has been engaging in what she refers to as "somatography," a term she uses to signal the physicality of paying attention to thinking and data through the bodily act of making—in her own case—visual art and creative writing assemblages, as exhibited in her image on the cover of this text.



Kelly Clark/Keefe,
Clementina, 1999, acrylic on
canvas.

Conceptualizing her work through material feminist theories, Clark/Keefe is interested in examining the role of bodies, subjectivity, and creativity in education and research.

The image of *Clementina* and the explanatory narrative is excerpted from Clark/Keefe's dissertation. She created case studies of the women she interviewed. As she sat with the words of each woman, she picked up her paintbrush and began "synthesizing" their words into a painting, a process that, in turn, made her more deeply reflective on the emotional quality of their words. This example is from her work with *Clementina*, who was raised by a mother working as a night-shift waitress to support her four children. By age fifteen, *Clementina* was determined "to not follow the same 'pattern' as that of her parents" (p. 69). Clark (1999) states:

I decide her biographical rendering should reflect movement. It seems that any figural element should float above a sea of both definitive borders as well as less linear, more ambiguous horizons indicative of difference. An "H" pitched proudly on the hills behind her will pay metaphorical deference to her "Hollywood" sense of self—to her feelings, thoughts and imagination about the transformative power of heroes, heroines, role models, artists and educators. "Red" hair ("like [her] mom's") will be lined in black (like hers). It will flow down her back. . . . Placement of complementary colors in hues that reflect both the desert and the sea will attempt to draw viewers eyes around and around, in a solid (not scattered), circuitous motion. This will be a reflection of her ways of knowing her self, her world, and her spiritual connection to the harmoniousness of all life's music and its makers. (pp. 72–73)

In this example, as in other creative representations, the “essences (as understood by the artist) are extracted and represented in concrete, condensed forms” (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995, p. 392). These art forms replace scholarly commentary with a different kind of voice that seeks to inform, startle, communicate, provoke, and stimulate an audience wider than academia.

Exhibitions can be perceived sometimes as a forum for presenting research through artistic considerations. An example comes from “Understanding Our Past, Shaping Our Future,” an exhibit focused on Cherokee language, culture, and history through images, text, and sound recordings. Facilitated by archivist, curator, and museum educator Anna Fariello et al. (2013–2014), a team from Cherokee, Cullowee, and nearby areas in western North Carolina sought to create an exhibition that would portray Cherokee history from the perspective of Cherokee people. Although not part of the research proposal from the beginning, Cherokee language became the crux of the process. The project team realized early on that they needed to begin with the Cherokee language and translate into English, not the other way around. So the work began to interview native speakers in Cherokee and then, translate into English. Data from interviews, historical sources, archival photography, and current information and photographs were segregated into themes such as “European Encounters” and “Language Revitalization.” Through a continual process of elimination, specific quotations, photographs, and narratives were assembled from each thematic grouping for presentation on a panel. In a museum-without-walls concept, fifteen panels were mounted on folding triptych stands for exhibition in schools, libraries, community centers, and other public places in western North Carolina, serving to educate and raise awareness of and pride in Cherokee history and culture.

Leavy (2009) states, “The resistive potential of art is now being harnessed by social researchers increasingly committed to dismantling stereotypes, accessing the voices of marginalized groups, and engaging in research that propels social change” (p. 256). Imagery and visual forms of art, in particular, occupy a special niche in activist inquiry. Photovoice or community-based visual research, discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, has been particularly powerful in this regard. Another example of using photography both to express voices of a marginalized group and to propel social change comes from the work of Jonathan Treat, an educator and activist living and working in southern Mexico. He is been involved with several communities at risk of or affected by large-scale mining projects, such as San José del Progreso, an indigenous community in Oaxaca. Treat (2012, 2013) has documented through words and photographs the struggles of the people of San José del Progreso with the Canadian-owned silver and gold mining project that promises to divert scarce water resources to the mine. Two community defenders were killed in 2012, and their deaths are seen as part of a history of ongoing violent repression of resistance to the mines. Treat uses photographic exhibitions, such as the photographs shown here, at community forums, not only to document and communicate the community’s struggles with the outside world but also as a tool for popular education so that people in other villages where mines are planned understand the health, environmental, social, and cultural risks that mining



Exhibition in front of the Fortuna Silver Mine commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of the leader of the movement opposing the mine in San José del Progreso, Oaxaca.

Jonathan Treat
(photographer), 2013



Exhibition at a regional forum in a community in the central valley of Oaxaca that said “no” to mining.

Jonathan Treat
(photographer), 2013

projects have brought to communities like San José del Progreso. Many Mexican communities have a tradition of artisanal mining, but little experience, if any, with large-scale megamining projects. Understanding the devastating impacts that such projects have had gives people the opportunity to reflect upon and make informed decisions about the well-being of their territories, communities, and families.

BEING ACCOUNTABLE AND TAKING RISKS

Meratus say that when God handed out the Holy Book, the Meratus ancestry ate his and thus ensured both internal inspiration and its essentially unarticulated script.

(Tsing, 1993, p. 245)

Being Accountable

Leavy (2009) describes how “the arts can grab hold of people’s attention, making lasting impressions... a piece of visual art can stop people in their tracks and jar them into seeing something differently; a play can evoke a range of emotions, causing audience members to weep and laugh.” Not each work of art will cause such reactions, but even when it does not, Leavy states, “It may still communicate an important story or range of meanings, and do so in an aesthetically interesting way” (p. 255). Agar (1995) warns, however, that these different modes of expressing research could place an emphasis on form over content:

Textuality as a consciousness-raising concept is long over-due. But textuality as the primary focus for what ethnography is all about is, I think, a mistake... a move to new textual forms without more attention to the research processes that ground them would be a serious ethnomistake. (pp. 128–129)

Similarly, Eisner (1997) cautions, “We also need to be sure, if we can be, that we are not substituting novelty and cleverness for substance” (p. 9). Such worries have led researchers to attempt to develop standards or criteria for evaluating arts based research. Doing so is difficult because, as Barone and Eisner (2012) state, “The ability to deal meaningfully with visual art, for example, is not the same as the ability to deal with music. Each form of representation has its own demands and exacts its own requirements” (p. 62).

In arts based research literature (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Faulkner, 2009; Gergen & Gergen, 2012; Saldana, 2011), five standards for evaluating arts based research work stand out. The research

1. Is artistic in that the presence of craft is evident.
2. Is evocative, creates an embodied experience.
3. Gets at the essences of social issues or has social significance.
4. Causes discovery, surprise, or perception of a phenomenon in new ways.
5. Invites communication with local communities and can enable action or transformation.

Creating standards for arts based research means considering use and quality of the research as well as use and quality of the art form. Yet, form and content cannot be separated. As Saldana (2011) states, “Our mission is about substance *and* style, form *and* feeling, research *and* art” (p. 203).

As in learning a new language, you become fluent in arts based research through study, practice, and persistence. Your research poetry (painting, drama, etc.) will be more aesthetically accomplished if you are familiar with the technical skills involved in writing poetry, read many poems, and write poetry in classes and workshops where you receive support and skilled feedback. Some faculty, in fact, require students to have studied or to have demonstrated competence through peer-reviewed exhibits, shows, or publications of their art form before being allowed to take on arts based research (Piiro, 2002).

Take seriously these cautionary assertions that arts based research requires skill in both inquiry and artistic methods. I urge you also to give yourself license to play with form and to expand your repertoire of expressive modes. As you become familiar with different forms of arts based research and representation, you will find what resonates with you and with your research ideas. If you are not already well versed in an art form, you may find yourself compelled to take workshops, attend classes, and wander in whole new areas of the library. It may seem like a detour from your research process, but interactions with art enrich lives and, just possibly, will allow you to perceive and communicate your research in new and exciting ways.

Remember, too, that experimenting with arts based approaches can be about the process as much as, or more than, about the product. These approaches assist you to look at your data in different ways and to reflect upon your practice as a researcher. After a semester course focused on data analysis and writing, including an emphasis on creative practices, I asked students what they had learned about their research and themselves through interacting with their work in more creative ways. They tended to answer much as this student did: "It allowed me to get at feelings, and my relationship with others, in ways that I could not possibly have done in another form. It also allowed me—*freed* me—to think about what might have been, what might be now." Their answers suggested, in particular, that using arts based research methods is a freeing experience that accesses feelings and encourages broader analytical perspectives. In terms of what students learned about themselves, they usually mentioned something about writing, as another student did in this response after a semester of work on drafts and redrafts in various creative forms: "I learned that my writing could be more interesting for me to write and for others to read."

Taking Risks

Responding to the crisis of representation, researchers have engaged in a multitude of new debates. Questioning the right to describe others has led to reexamination of research purposes and of researchers' obligations and responsibilities to communities into which they inquire. Some researchers have chosen to focus on historical, philosophical, or theoretical inquiry rather than to become involved in fieldwork. Others have turned their gaze onto themselves and use their own experiences as a forum for reflection on society. Yet others have struggled with how to do social science fieldwork and to share "findings" in ways that reveal the partial, incomplete, and particular state of their knowing. In considering for whom and for what purposes they write, many seek to make their work accessible to research participants and to others beyond the academic community. Doing so means creating in forms that others will want to read, watch, or listen to and, in the process, feel and learn from the research.

Creative forms and textual strategies help to provide options that counter many critiques of traditional reports: that they are authoritative, that they are boring or written for specialized audiences; that they do not evoke emotions and the

senses; that they ignore the role of researcher; and that they neglect the political. "Take risks," urges Ellis. "Write from the heart as well as the head" (in Bochner & Ellis, 1996, p. 42). Through arts based inquiries, researchers seek to be open to how the medium is part of the message. Different mediums allow you to say (and to see) different things about the lives you seek to portray.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Barone, T. and Eisner, E. W. (2012). *Arts based research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.
- Ellis, C. (2009). *Revision: Autoethnographic reflections on life and work*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Knowles, J. G., & Cole, A. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of the ARTS in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Leavy, P. (2009). *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Saldaña, J. (2011). *Ethnotheatre: Research from page to stage*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

EXERCISES⁴

1. Explore some aspect of your research topic by writing a short autoethnography in which you use dramatic recall and images from your own life to situate your research in the personal and the social. Reflect upon what you learned about your topic, your research participants (even though they were not present in your story), and yourself through this exercise.
2. Work with interview transcripts from one person and create a poetic transcription. Use only the words, phrasings, and speaking rhythms of the interviewee. Reflect upon what you learned about your topic, the interviewee, and yourself through poetic transcription.
3. Work with interview transcripts from several interviewees plus observation notes to create an ethnodrama. Reflect upon what you learned about your topic, about the interviewee, and yourself through writing up your data as drama.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Watch Anna Deavere Smith perform. Visit the TED site on the Internet and search for Anna Deavere Smith.
- 2 This section draws from my article "That Rare Feeling: Re-presenting Research through Poetic Transcription," published in 1997 in *Qualitative Inquiry*.
- 3 Another version of "Food Truck's Party Hat" was published in 1999 in *Qualitative Inquiry*.
- 4 Laurel Richardson (2000) suggests a series of writing practices in her chapter "Writing: A Method of Inquiry" in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, including variations of those presented here.

CHAPTER 10

The Continuing Search

Learning to exist in a world quite different from that which formed you is the condition, these days, of pursuing research you can on balance believe in and writing sentences you can more or less live with.

(Geertz, 1995, p. 133)

Twenty to forty thousand years ago, Aboriginal people in Australia were covering rock walls with paintings such as that shown in the accompanying photograph. People have been observing and recording aspects of their lives for eons. What people record, why they do so, how they go about it, and what use they make of it changes and will keep changing, of that we can be sure. The purpose of this book was to introduce some of the ways researchers and scholars currently approach interpreting lives through qualitative inquiry.



People have been observing and recording their surroundings, hopes, and dreams for thousands of centuries. Forms and methods change, but the process continues.

Rock art painting at Ubirr, Kakadu National Park, Australia (Jane Amundsen, photographer, 2013).

After an introduction to philosophies and methodologies associated with qualitative inquiry, the text focused on developing research questions and study design. It then concentrated on ethnographic methods for data production—in particular, observations and interviews. Chapters on field relationships and ethics raised considerations, debates, and dilemmas commonly associated with qualitative inquiry. Information on data analysis focused on coding and thematic organization, while introducing some other ways to work with data. The chapter on writing provided strategies for structuring texts and advice for getting started and keeping at the writing process. Finally, a chapter on arts based research served to extend discussions of making meaning and to highlight the question of “research for whom.” My intention is for the examples, reflections, and suggestions in this text to help you to choose your own research path, and to encourage you in the process. This final chapter considers various applications of both the process and the product of research.

BECOMING QUALITATIVE RESEARCHERS

Somehow you’ve got to put your heart and soul into it—not just for personal reasons, but to really understand what’s going on. The more you allow yourself to fall in love with a place, the more you see the connections.

(student quoted in Wilson, 1989, p. 17)

At this point, if engaged in a pilot study while reading this book, you know a great deal more about your topic and about becoming a qualitative researcher. I assume that you also have more questions about both. I trust that one of your questions reflects Geertz (1995) and asks: What kind of research will you pursue that “you can on balance believe in”? Another question that I hope is on your list refers to both topic and process: Into what research can you put “your heart and soul”?

Qualitative research demands nearly total absorption. Researchers find their lives consumed by their work as they seek understanding and connections. Personal commitment, trust, and time are key to rich data and useful interpretations. Few anticipate the exacting demands of their research endeavors. For example, Toni set out to interview wives of medical interns about their sense of self. Six months later, she exclaimed:

This project has really become bigger than me! It is everywhere. We talked about it in our social psych brown bag as we discussed feminist methodology. It comes up for me in almost all of my readings, at a conference I attended, in conversations . . . I have so much in my head and noted down somewhere that I have not had time to think about. . . . This project has consumed my life to the exclusion of almost all else.

Another student agreed: “I went to a conference the other day and kept taking notes for my research, and the conference was on a topic not even close to my project.” Although, most likely, many of you do not have lives that adapt easily to

the demands of qualitative research on your attention, it is when you find your “problem” everywhere that you can be assured you are getting somewhere.

Entering qualitative terrain can be lonely. Even though you may discuss your work with colleagues, friends, and research participants, in conventional qualitative research you tend to be alone. You are alone in the role of researcher in the research site, and you are alone with the ultimate responsibility of fitting the pieces together and finding meaning in the whole. You are alone as you struggle over “writing sentences you can more or less live with” (Geertz, 1995, p. 133). Toni reflected on the loneliness of her work:

Talk about isolation! I’m feeling it in many realms. One is working with the data, being overwhelmed by it all. I feel isolated at times when I talk about this [lives of spouses of medical interns] because people seem to get uneasy, as though I am saying something I shouldn’t about medicine. Additionally, I am wondering about how the women will react when they see it . . . and how I will react to how they react.

As Toni suggests, qualitative research can raise self-doubts. You worry that people won’t want to talk with you or won’t let you observe. You wonder if you are asking the right questions. You suddenly panic over whether your towering stack of notebooks and computer files really tells you anything and, even if these records do, whether you are capable of putting the data bits together in a meaningful way. And you worry that perhaps you will not like what you bring to light.

That you do not know exactly what you search for contributes to periods of confusion and frustration. In the midst of analyzing data on a school in a rural transitional community, Carlton sighed, “I’m not sure if the data confuse me or if I confuse the data.” Both surely occur in research projects. As surely, research projects require courage and integrity.

These discontinuities, the disturbing pieces that do not “fit,” are actually what may give you clues to your more interesting realizations. You will need to learn to live with confusion, if not welcome it into your life—to see it as a harbinger of new mysteries to unravel. Bateson (1984) recognized this in the work of her parents, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson:

Both Margaret and Gregory developed a style that involved collecting observational material in the expectation that, however rich and bewildering it might seem at first, they would arrive at points of recognition when things would “make sense” and fall into place. In the search for such moments of insight they would be dealing with points of congruence within the culture they were looking at and also points of personal response. (p. 163)

Understanding involves getting at participants’ perspectives, but it is more than that. It is reaching some collective understanding that includes self and others.

Although the research process is often exciting and meaningful, it can also be tiring. Exhaustion seems to hit hardest when one is trying to make sense of the data. Tina wrote:

I felt extreme fatigue when the interviews were over. That fatigue made transcribing even more deadly. I remember many nights falling asleep for a few minutes at my computer during the transcribing process and thinking that I would never get to the last page. Somehow I did, but it was always a temptation to leave it until the next day.

Despite having nights when you fall asleep at your computer, you will have moments of insight, if not stretches of profound contentment. Holly described what the process of writing up research meant for her: "Transforming my thoughts into words not only allows me to reflect upon who I am and who I am striving to become, but also invites the reader to connect; to form a kind of relationship with me through the printed page."

It is to the printed page and other outcomes of research that I now turn.

APPLICATIONS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

What has practical relevance . . . depends not just, or even primarily, in finding "technological" solutions to discrete problems, but rather in forging new perspectives, new ways of looking at things.

(Giddens, 1995, p. 277)

When teachers conduct a study of new students' adaptations to middle school, when mothers map their families' past, or when students challenge the university food service, they all engage in research for a reason. The applications of research are as varied as the researchers and their sundry studies. When people talk about applying research, they generally refer to making use of the final report or manuscript: the research *product*. The research *process*, however, also has its own applications as discussed later.

The Possibilities of Words and Other Forms of Presenting Research

Research manuscripts or texts can take you places that you have not had an opportunity to go, exposing you to other cultures and to unique aspects of your own culture. They help you to adopt new perspectives, see something from a different point of view, and reexamine your own theoretical constructs. Texts can help to educate readers and to challenge stereotypes and assumptions. They can suggest avenues for policy change and delineate steps to take. They can, in sum, confront and augment theories about the myriad nature of human thought and interactions.

Interpretive inquiry means learning much about others' lives or, in autoethnography, delving more deeply into your own life in conjunction with the lives of others. Your perspectives on those lives is always an interpretation. Barone (1990a) cautions, "A text of qualitative inquiry is . . . better viewed as an occasion

than as a tool. It is, more precisely, an occasion for the reader to engage in the activities of textual re-creation and dismantling" (p. 306). If you view the text as a tool, then you may too easily accept it as fact and ignore what went into the research process, including the values of the researcher and limitations in the research design.

If reading the work of another, instead of responding to research findings as though they represent an absolute truth, use the manuscript as an opportunity to think about the social world around you. Expect others to do the same as they read your words. An English teacher said, "The beauty of a good story is its openness—the way you or I or anyone reading it can take it in, and use it for ourselves" (Coles, 1989, p. 47). A good qualitative report also invites you in. It encourages you to compare its descriptions and analyses to your own experiences and to, perhaps, think differently about your own particular situation.

Lorna was working on a study concerning the inclusion of children with special needs in public school classrooms. In the midst of analyzing and writing up her work, she reflected upon her text as an occasion for drawing others in, even though not every problem was "solved":

There are so many questions I am leaving unanswered. Resisting the urge to delete the last half of my paper, I opened the day's *New York Times* magazine. I was drawn to an article about a single mother with AIDS searching for a new "mother" for her only child. In the midst of my tears, I couldn't help but recognize this as qualitative research, as a case study. The power and depth were apparent. And this author also left many questions unanswered.

The act of observing, listening, and recording can be a form of witnessing that brings attention to plights and triumphs of others. Scheper-Hughes (1992) describes the text as an occasion for witnessing and giving voice to those who have been silenced or for providing a history of "people often presumed to have no history" (p. 29):

So-called participant observation has a way of drawing the ethnographer into spaces of human life where she or he might really prefer not to go at all and once there doesn't know how to go about getting out except through writing, which draws others there as well, making them party to the act of witnessing. (p. xii)

Witnessing sets the stage for conversations, dialog, and systemic change. As Geertz (1988) observes, "It seems likely that whatever use ethnographic texts will have in the future, if in fact they actually have any, it will involve enabling conversation across societal lines—of ethnicity, religion, class, gender, language, race." (p. 147). Research from the standpoint of marginalized lives generates questions that dominant groups have not considered, questions that transform taken-for-granted conceptual frameworks (Harding, 1998).

Qualitative research texts also assist in academic theoretical and personal pursuits. That is, publications in peer-reviewed journals help you get hired or obtain tenure because they demonstrate that you value sharing your thoughts

and understandings and that others have found your work worthy of reading. These same publications may also contribute to hypothesis generation, theory development, and the creation of solutions to practical problems. Toni's work with wives of medical interns extends a theory that explains the development of self in relationship to others. Her descriptive stories also serve as a mode of support and awareness-raising for research participants and other wives of interns. As with many research texts, her work has personal, theoretical, and practical applications.

Undoubtedly, countless reports find their way into the forgotten corners of office shelves rather than becoming moving, transforming works, yet research reports have changed lives. Willis's (1977) research in England drew attention to the role of resistance in shaping the lives of working-class "lads" both in and out of school. Gilligan's (1993) work with the moral development of women paved the way for exploring the gender bias that had permeated theories of human development. These studies are not without their problems, yet they and others contribute to how we perceive and interact with the world.

Conference Presentations. A useful step toward getting published is to present your research at a conference where you can get feedback on your assertions and interpretations. If you take time to construct a well-organized paper and from it prepare and practice a talk (or arts based presentation), you might even be approached by someone in the audience who invites you to send the paper to a journal for publication (this has happened). More likely, you will meet people who have similar interests and widen your network of colleagues who get intrigued and excited by the same things you do and who, perhaps, will agree to serve as readers of your work. Listening to the presentations of others may introduce you to theories and procedures that cause you to reconsider aspects of your own work. Also, at both regional and national meetings, you often can meet with editors and publishers to discuss possible future projects to get your ideas presented.

You might want to begin with a regional conference, finding it less intimidating than a national meeting with thousands of attendees. Conferences tend to have a specific theme or themes. Follow the guidelines for proposal submission, and work to link your specific foci to the conference's theme. Most conferences have several different categories for presentation proposals. You usually can propose to give an individual paper, to work with several colleagues and submit a plan for a panel presentation, or to do a poster session. Creating a panel session involves more coordination and planning than an individual paper, but it can be more fun (and less intimidating) to present with others whom you know than to go alone.

Obtain information about the regional or national meetings in your discipline so that you know when and where to send your proposal. The American Anthropology Association, the American Association of Nursing, the American Educational Research Association, and the American Sociological Association are all national association possibilities. Alternatively, you may prefer attending

a conference that focuses on qualitative research. For example, the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry (ICQI) is held annually at the University of Illinois, and both the Qualitative Health Research Conference (QHR) and the International Institute for Qualitative Methodology (IIQM) are held annually at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada. Others, such as the Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Conference (EQRC), are held in different venues each year. Information about each of these conferences and others can be found on the Web.

When your proposal has been accepted, allot sufficient time to adequately prepare. A number of years ago, I started keeping track of how many presentations I had to listen to before I heard one that engaged me and stimulated my thoughts and interests. Obviously, this was not a scientific survey, but for every “good” presentation, five were rather boring. The ideas in the papers were not necessarily boring, but the delivery failed to communicate those ideas. Perhaps you’ve had similar experiences. Presenter One stands to give his paper and then commences to read it, one page after another, barely lifting his eyes to the audience. Presenter Two takes an extra five minutes to get a PowerPoint working and then reads each bullet-pointed phrase on the slides. She’s on bullet three while you are reading the seventh one. Presenter Three has never given his talk a trial run. When the chair of the session gives him the one-minute signal, he shuffles through the papers, jumps to a new point and, with great speed, continues to read, ignoring the signal of the chair that his time is up. When he finally sits down, he has taken minutes from the next presenters. Strive to not be any of these people.

Edwards (2012, pp. 24–37) gives some useful suggestions for presenting at conferences. They include planning your presentation; talking rather than reading; standing up and making almost constant eye contact; and practicing. We tend to be able to comfortably say 100 words per minute. Therefore, if you have a fifteen-minute presentation slot, you can say no more than what would fit on six double-spaced pages (but don’t read these six pages—use them as a guide for how much you can plan to say). Your task is to choose what would interest the audience in a limited amount of time, without overwhelming them. If you interest them, they will ask you questions during the discussion period, and you will have the opportunity to say more, or they will request copies of your paper after the session. Like an actor preparing for the stage, rehearse your talk. Practice and time it, edit as needed, and then practice and time it again with a colleague or friend listening. Solicit their suggestions and adjust your paper as needed. If preparing a panel presentation with colleagues, hold a dress rehearsal, give feedback to each other, consider if it makes sense to give the papers in a particular order, and discuss ways in which, as a whole, you could better integrate or reference each other’s papers as part of the presentation.

Poster sessions do not always get the same kind of formal recognition as paper presentations, but they can be a good way to get involved in individual conversations with others. Usually, you are assigned a particular time and place to arrive with your poster and then are expected to be present to interact with attendees for a set period of time. Poster sessions are a good forum for presenters

with visual data, whether graphs, photographs, or creative representations. Rather than fill up your posters with more words than people can read, create a handout for those who are interested. Include your name and email so if people want to follow up, they can easily get in touch. For more suggestions on poster presentations, see Trainor's *Creating and Presenting an Academic Poster* (2012).

Publishing in Journals. Many journals within the social sciences review and accept for publication articles based on widely differing research methodologies (see Figure 10.1), while other journals specialize in particular methodologies. For example, the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* (QSE) and *Qualitative Inquiry* (QI) publish interpretive, critical, and poststructural qualitative research, including arts based research. *Visual Studies* and *Visual Anthropology Review* specialize in image-based research and welcome photographic essays. Opportunities for publishing your work online through peer-reviewed, open-access journals continually expand. You might want to check out *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, based in Berlin, Germany, or *LEARNingLandscapes*, based at McGill University in Montreal, Canada.

<i>American Educational Research Journal</i>	<i>Media, Culture and Society</i>
<i>Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly</i>	<i>Narrative Inquiry</i>
<i>Criminal Justice Policy and Review</i>	<i>Nursing Research</i>
<i>Educational Studies</i>	<i>Qualitative Health Research</i>
<i>Feminist Studies</i>	<i>Qualitative Inquiry</i>
<i>Field Studies</i>	<i>Qualitative Social Work</i>
<i>Forum: Qualitative Social Review</i> (online, multilingual)	<i>Qualitative Sociology</i>
<i>Human Organization</i>	<i>Qualitative Studies in Psychology</i>
<i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i>	<i>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</i>
<i>International Review of Sport Sociology</i>	<i>Sociological Perspectives</i>
<i>International Sociology</i>	<i>Sociological Quarterly</i>
<i>Journal of Contemporary Ethnography</i>	<i>Studies in Symbolic Interaction</i>
<i>Journal of Creative Inquiry</i>	<i>Teaching Sociology</i>
<i>Journal of Marriage and the Family</i>	<i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i>
<i>Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences</i>	<i>Visual Anthropology Review</i>
<i>LEARNingLandscapes</i> (online)	<i>Visual Studies</i>
	<i>Western Journal of Nursing</i>

FIGURE 10.1 Examples of Journals That Publish Qualitative Research

Publishing in a journal takes time and perseverance. Begin by finding a journal that matches your research interests and writing style. Browse the journals in your library and online to see the kinds of articles published. Read the journals' purpose statements and instructions for submission (generally on the inside cover or on one of the first few pages). Goodall (2008) provides many useful guidelines on publishing. His first admonition for publishing articles is to "*Adhere to the publication guidelines for the outlet you have selected*" (p. 104). This means that if the journal's instructions for style and format state "between 25 and 30 double-spaced pages," you don't submit 35 pages because you think what you have to say is so important that the editors will waive the rule, or that they will give you time to edit the article down after its acceptance. Those extra five pages may mean that your submission will not be read. The guidelines for each journal vary, so read carefully, adhere to them, and make your submission as well written and ready for publication as you can. Then, expect to wait a couple months.

Most journals send each manuscript they receive to two to four "blind" reviewers, meaning reviewers receive the paper without the author's name attached. They address a series of questions supplied by the journal editor and may make additional comments on and suggestions for the manuscript. Reviewers don't get paid, but they generally take the job seriously and often enclose pages of remarks. The editor reads the reviewers' responses and makes one of three decisions regarding your paper: (1) to publish with limited edits, (2) to request revisions based upon reviewers' comments and a resubmission, or (3) to reject the paper for publication.

If you receive the last response, do not be discouraged. It simply may not have been the right journal for your work. Consider seriously suggestions that were made, revise, and send your paper to another journal. If, however, you receive the response to revise and resubmit, do it. If you attend to reviewers' comments, the manuscript is likely to be accepted. Do not expect a journal editor to respond, "We want your article just as it is." Reviewers always seem to have suggestions for making a paper better. Even though you may feel as though you cannot bear to reread, let alone rework, your paper, if you take the time the manuscript will be better and will get published.

Collaborations might make the process more bearable. Consider writing with a colleague interested in a similar topic or with one or more research participants. Collaboration is a hallmark of the qualitative inquiry process, requiring ongoing interactions with a wide variety of people. Yet, in the social sciences, the writing and publishing process often is done alone. Although collaborative writing can bring its own set of challenges, it also can make the writing process more enjoyable and the final product more nuanced and polished.

Publishing your Dissertation. It is not easy to get a dissertation published, no matter how much work you put into research, analysis, and writing. As Caro (2012) observes, "What makes a good topic for a Ph.D. thesis does not necessarily make a good topic for a book" (p. 49). Caro suggests that before making the decision to turn your dissertation into a book, you seek out "the five or ten books that are the closest matches to your dissertation" and "try to make a list of what

your proposed book would offer that none of the other books could provide" (p. 49). If you continue to want to pursue publishing your dissertation, then expect to dive back into that text on which you have just spent a good chunk of your scholarly life. Most likely, you will need to substantially restructure it to appeal to a broader audience.

You also will need to find a publisher. Begin by looking at who is publishing those five to ten books similar to the one you hope to write. Their websites will include guidelines for submitting a book proposal. Take time to draft a careful and thorough proposal. As Goodall (2008) states, "Your dissertation has an audience of four or five committee members, your book needs to appeal to an audience of many hundreds or thousands" (p. 128).

Applications of the Research Process

The act of telling stories is powerful. I finally found something that can sustain me through my dissertation.

(Vermont student)

Unlike the research text, which may be meaningful to people living thousands of miles away from the research site, the usefulness or application of the actual process of doing research is more limited to those involved. This, however, does not detract from its significance and contributions to improving practice, evaluation, policy, and understanding.

Unless asked to participate in someone else's funded research project, you will generally find yourself researching something within your academic or applied discipline (e.g., special education, nursing, social work, educational leadership). As you conduct research, you will invariably learn things that will improve your practice. Dorothy, with nearly twenty years of experience in clinical nursing, stated that she already knew "the value of a carefully placed 'go on,' a contemplative 'uh huh.'" Nonetheless, in her study of the process of committing a loved one to institutional care, she discovered that her interviewees "seem to yearn for a listening ear." Her open-ended, probing questions allowed participants to tell their stories. "For some," she stated, "I have the sense I am the first health professional to listen." In her research role, Dorothy learned more about her clients than she had in her nursing role. Seeing that her clients appreciated an extended opportunity to discuss difficult issues, Dorothy planned to incorporate longer, more probing interviews into her practice. Similarly, Aamodt (1989) discussed using qualitative interviewing techniques with children who have cancer in order to provide more personally meaningful care.

Dorothy also reflected on how the process of participant observation in qualitative inquiry expanded her concept of the potential usefulness of observation in nursing:

Documenting observations comes as naturally to a nurse as listening. Attention to subtle detail is essential to comprehensive patient assessments. In nursing, however, the areas for observation are clearly prescribed. I know that observing the

rate and depth of respirations along with the color of fingernails and mucous membranes will allow me to reach conclusions about lung function. But what specific observations must I record to eventually understand family decision making? Would posture, level of enthusiasm, appearance of fatigue be useful information? I now consider what I see in general. I describe the apparent uneasiness with which a son relates his inability to keep his dad out of the hospital.

By conducting qualitative research, Dorothy learned both skills and knowledge applicable to her nursing practice. Similarly, practitioner-researchers in other disciplines learn skills and knowledge that assist them in carrying out their practice, conducting program evaluations, and shaping policy.

Participants in qualitative research often learn aspects about the conduct of inquiry. The interview and observation process also can propel participants to become more reflective on facets of their lives. In participant-oriented research and increasingly in more conventional inquiry, the research is intended to assist participants or their community in some way. These inquiries focus upon issues of concern to those researched. Particular and localized solutions to some question may be sought. Participants may be coresearchers and learn about research techniques as well as new ways to view or change their lives. When, for example, economically poor and isolated rural Vermont women in "Listening Partner" groups received the opportunity to regularly dialog and collaboratively problem solve with women in similar situations, they began to look at and live their lives differently; and the relationships they formed through the learning circles rendered them less isolated (Belenky, Bond, & Weinstock, 1997). In these kinds of research endeavors, the research *process* is as important as (or more important than) the *product*.

Developing Skills and Self-Learning. "I reached the wall," Charlie said. "I could not write another piece about the classroom. We were both tired—I of being there, and she of having me there." Charlie was in the midst of research on a multigrade classroom. He had been observing the classroom; interviewing children, parents, and school personnel; and discussing his thoughts in intense meetings with the teacher. After a short break, he returned to the classroom and was welcomed by the teacher and students; in the meantime, he had learned something useful about the process of doing research. Charlie began to schedule different kinds of breaks: reflective breaks that allowed him to take stock of his work, and absolute breaks that gave him a complete rest from the researcher role and gave his participants relief from the intrusion that a researcher, no matter how loved, represents.

The act of researching teaches you about yourself as a researcher. You may take pride in the way that you carefully listen and ask probing questions, but you may also realize that you are not as observant as you had hoped. You may need to develop better strategies for recording observations and for managing your time so interviews get transcribed. In addition to learning about yourself as a researcher, you may also learn more about yourself in general. Jill reflected, "By looking at

what problems interest us and at what questions we ask, we may discover an avenue that leads us to a better understanding of what is important and of meaning to each one of us." Your research is autobiographical in that some aspects of yourself are mirrored in the topic and methodologies you choose. Figuring out where your interests lie leads you to a greater understanding of your core values and beliefs. Such understanding, in turn, can provide direction for future undertakings.

A graduate student observed after a two-semester course in which students designed and conducted pilot studies, "You can learn things through qualitative research that cannot be learned any other way." I agree. From my observations, through undertaking qualitative field research, students learn to

1. Recognize the value of keeping a journal and the usefulness of descriptive and analytical notes for producing thoughts and interpretations, for reflecting upon themselves, and ultimately, for creating reports and theses.
2. Observe with curiosity and to suspend prejudgment or, at least, to become aware of preconceptions.
3. Listen to others and engage in dialog, that is, to try to understand the perspectives from which each speaker comes, and to pose questions or comments from that positioning, rather than to be preoccupied in formulating an argument or a rebuttal while the other is talking.
4. Perceive the complexity inherent within beliefs, attitudes, and social interactions and to begin to see how they and others tend to live context-bound and contradictory lives.
5. Value the experiences and knowledge of *everyday* folk rather than always turning to the *experts* and to published works as sources of authority.

Eve Krassner demonstrates much of this learning in a paper she wrote in Mexico toward the end of her two semesters in an undergraduate comparative international educational program. A portion is excerpted here:

More often than not the global and local are understood as being mutually exclusive. One either subjects oneself to dominant paradigms or lives completely outside of them. Traditional methods of healing, for example, can be particularly problematic for Western medicine. Educated doctors feel entitled to disregard traditional healers for their lack of "proper" training, and hold cynicism toward their effectiveness. Josephina, a *curandera* from Santa Clara, presented a very different picture. The relationship she described between herself and "modern" doctors was one of mutual trust and understanding, what she called "intercambio de trabajo." She would share her knowledge with the hospital doctors, and they would in turn provide her with training she would otherwise not have access to. It was fantastic to picture her holding demonstrations for physicians in white lab coats in her humble home, or to imagine them using incense and lit coal to read a patient's energy rather than use cold tools to measure blood pressure. It was also nice to see that Josephina was appreciative of the resources they had to offer her, and that they were welcoming of her insight into processes they did not understand. Her story demonstrated collaboration where many find only resistance.

If my time with these communities has shown me anything about the nature of Mexican society, it is that it can exist in many forms and function on multiple levels at once. . . . The country sets an example of economic prosperity, continuing to be the second largest supplier of oil to the United States. The richest man in the world is Mexican, his success thanks to changes in economic policy, the same legislation that causes significant socioeconomic inequality. Mexico is also plagued with corruption and violence. However, it is also a country that celebrates and fosters community. *Usos y costumbres* brings plurality rather than division, marked by cooperation and not competition. Families work together to keep tradition alive. Some may suffer from out-migration, but the same sons and daughters who leave often come back. Those two conflicting systems are what allow Mexico to suffer from both first and third world health problems, to suffer from social division while working to even the playing field, to privatize industry, but continue to recognize eighty percent of the land as communal. I want to take from this experience what I learned from Curandera Josephina. It is possible to find ways to bridge the gap.

The skills and attitudes that accompany *becoming* a qualitative researcher seem particularly important to creating good scholars, and more empathic and curious individuals will go on to create important relationships with others whose lives may be quite different from their own. By opening yourself up to another, you learn. You feel others' pain, their struggles and their joy, and you begin to perceive the world in new ways. You become connected and create a foundation for further interactions that are multiple and complex, and that may contribute in small or large ways to others' lives. And you examine your own values and may determine to change aspects of your own life as a result of what you have learned.

Creating and Deepening Relationships. Terry Tafoya (1989), a Native American anthropologist, tells a story of Coyote who, through a series of events, loses his eyes. He is completely blind until Mouse gives him one of her tiny eyes, and later, Buffalo gives Coyote one of his large eyes. Coyote does not learn how to balance these perspectives, however. Tafoya draws a moral for his readers: "To be a whole human (one might say, a complete Coyote) one must learn to switch back and forth between the eyes of not only Mouse and Buffalo, but those of Eagle, Bear, Cougar, and all the other animals of legend" (p. 32).

Researchers need to learn to see (hear, feel) through different lenses. The act of researching, however, is fraught with problems because the conventional process situates the researcher as designer, sense maker, and storyteller. And the researcher will never "see" through all the lenses needed to get it "right" for everyone. Tierney (2000) reflects upon how he criticizes those who seek to "record the lives of those individuals on the border—Native American, lesbian and gay individuals, and the like," and yet how he also criticizes "the absence from traditional texts of those of us on the border" (p. 547). He goes on to say that it's not that one should not study the "other," but "the researcher must begin with an understanding of the fragmented nature of identity and build a text that enables readers to see how the author/narrator/speaker has created a particular identity that is fraught with contested meanings" (p. 548).

Relationships within a group (whether coresearchers, researchers, and participants, or a class) can unexpectedly become a greater opportunity for learning and growth than the topics studied.



The work of qualitative researchers is to accentuate *complexity*, not the *norm*, and to emphasize what contributes to plurality rather than to a narrowing of horizons. Moving out of the lone researcher model toward dialog helps in this process. Through dialog and learning from each other, we more easily see and examine the lenses upon which we rely. In dialog, we do “not seek to win or to convince, but to search together from our different vantage points” (Panikkar, 1995, p. 172). This process does not attempt to reduce a concept to shared understandings or to develop a new concept agreed upon by all participants. Rather, as Vashon (1995) states, this kind of dialog implies “harmony in our differences” (p. 72).

Many truths live side by side. This is not to say that one truth is as good as another, but that we need to become aware of the many truths throughout the world and in our own lives. The goal is not to weed out conflicting truths, but to reach new, deeper, and more complex understandings of multiple truths.

Through dialog and collaborative research, we share ourselves as well, creating relationships and working with others rather than “on” or “about” them. Through moving together, we might begin to develop frameworks for actions that nurture “harmony in our differences.” As Tsing (1997) states, “We need frameworks that show how multicultural alliances do not filter, misuse, or distort original truths, but rather spark the creative contingencies in which all theory is built” (p. 253).

CONCLUDING WORDS

A naturalist said, “You can love a landscape for a lifetime, and it will still have secrets from you” (Wilson, 1989, p. 18). Whether researching a village in Bolivia, a Christian school in the Midwest, or the superintendency of a rural school district in Vermont, you will never understand it all, but you will know where next to look, what new questions to ask, and what sense it might have for yourself and others. As Lorna reflected upon her pilot project, she stated:

When I go back and look at my original purposes, I believe that I made some slight progress, small ministeps, both in terms of understanding inclusion, and learning about and how to use qualitative research. I feel like I cracked open the door, and peeked inside. (It's an enormous room!) The vastness of what is left to explore is simultaneously intimidating and exhilarating. Trying not to feel overwhelmed, I'll remember what one teacher said, "You work and work and work and work and work. And . . . the child makes slow gains." I think she meant that ministeps count.

Each step contributes to understanding. Scheper-Hughes (1992) calls for the practice of a "good enough" ethnography, accepting that understandings always will be only partial. We can, however, "struggle to do the best we can with the limited resources we have at hand—our ability to listen and observe carefully, empathetically, and compassionately" (p. 28).

Qualitative inquiry is a search that leads into others' lives, your discipline, your practice, and yourself. You cannot be sure of where you will end up, but you invariably get caught up in the search and make steps forward. Andrea's words convey the empathy, compassion, and respect that accompanied her work:

There is so much I want to know. I feel as though each interview is a rosebud handed to me. As I take them home and transcribe them, they begin to bloom, and each petal is a new idea or a deeper understanding. Here I stand with three beautiful flowers in one hand and my other hand outstretched.

True research does not end. Instead, it points the way for yet another search.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Caro, S. (2009). *How to publish your PhD: A practical guide for the humanities and social science*. London, UK: Sage.
- Denzin, N., & Giardina, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Qualitative inquiry and social justice*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Miller, J. E., & Schmid, O. (Eds.). (2012). *How to get published in anthropology: A guide for students and young professionals*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

EXERCISES

1. Reflect upon the possible significance of your research. In what ways might it contribute to theory, policy, and/or practice? Write up these thoughts.
2. After completing your pilot, return to your research statement, your research design, and your interview questions. What modifications would you make?
3. Develop a research proposal and step forth onto the inquiry road.

This page intentionally left blank

A P P E N D I X A

Descriptions of Several Qualitative Methodologies

NARRATIVE RESEARCH

Narrative research, in general, refers to inquiry procedures that focus on the stories people tell about their lives. A variety of approaches fit into this category, including life history, oral history, biography, personal narrative, and narrative analysis. “All are based on the notion that humans make sense of their lives through story” (Hatch, 2002, p. 28). In narrative research, therefore, participants’ words about their experience are the focal point. To this end, narrative researchers tend to draw upon many of the same data sources as the ethnographer: interviews, personal letters or diaries, and other documents and archives. Although to a lesser extent than in ethnography, they may also employ participant observation to note context-setting details and to better interpret meanings of interviewees’ words. *Portraiture* work, as described by Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffmann Davis (1997), however, requires sustained periods in the field during which the researcher is both observing and interacting with participants in order both to find “the central story” and to convey “complex, subtle descriptions in context” (p. 12).

The product of good narrative research illustrates the uniqueness, dilemmas, and complexities of people in such a way that it causes readers to reflect upon themselves and to bring their own situations and questions to the story. “We restory ourselves,” states Clandinin (2013) “and perhaps begin to shift the institutional, social, and cultural narratives in which we are embedded” (p. 34). The narrative researcher may conduct multiple interviews over time with just one person (see Behar, 1993; Shostak, 1981). This life is sometimes used as a way of discussing a whole culture or group. For example, Oscar Lewis’s (1963) work in Mexico tended to be cultural portrayals through focusing on the lives of members of one family (Tedlock, 2000). Sometimes, the life story is used more to illustrate perceptions and effects of particular historical events, as Linden (1993) does in her work with women reflecting on the Holocaust. In other cases, narratives are focused biographical vignettes, exemplary of particular perspectives, interactions, or key incidents, such as what shaped the creative life of artists or contributed to the identity formation of activists (see Bateson, 1990; Myerhoff, 1979).

Narrative researchers may use some of the same analytic tools as ethnographers but they tend to write up the work in a more holistic and embodied way. Clandinin (2013) distinguishes between focusing on *threads* rather than *themes* and discusses how the analysis and writing may follow “particular plotlines that threaded or wove over time and place through an individual’s narrative account” (p. 132). Interest in linking the biographical with social theory has led to other narrative analysis techniques that treat narrations as text, whether in naturally occurring conversations or in interviews. These spoken texts are recorded and analyzed for how they are told (conventions of beginning, middle, end, plot, rhetoric, pauses, overlaps in talk, nuances of speech, etc.) as well as for what they say about the social life and cultures of which the narrators are a part (see *Analyzing Narrative Reality* by Gubrium and Holstein, 2009).

A form of narrative research that could be classified in the critical paradigm is the *testimonio*. Developed in large part in Latin America, the *testimonio* is used to tell a story of social marginalization or oppression. It differs from traditional procedures for doing life history in that “the *testimonio* is developed by the one who testifies in the hope that his or her life’s story will move the reader to action in concert with the group with which the testifier identifies” (Tierney, 2000, p. 540). For example, see *Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila, a Woman of the Bolivian Mines* (1978) by Barrios de Chungara with Viezzer.

The *collective biography* work of Davies and Gannon (2006) is an example of narrative inquiry based more in poststructuralism. Guided by theories of Foucault and others, six or seven participants “[work] together on a particular topic, drawing on their own memories relevant to that topic” (p. 3). Through a process of talking, listening, and writing, usually during a week-long workshop, the group seeks to “make visible, palpable, hearable, the constitutive effects of dominant discourses,” to “[examine] how discourse and practice work on us,” and “open both ourselves and discourse to the possibility of change” (Davies & Gannon 2006, 5).

GROUNDING THEORY

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) receive credit as the founders of **grounded theory research**. Their work has been extended by Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Charmaz (2002), in particular. Grounded theory is not a theory in itself, but a methodology for developing theory that is “grounded” in data. The purpose of this research approach is to “demonstrate relations between conceptual categories and to specify the conditions under which theoretical relationships emerge, change, or are maintained” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 675). Grounded theory work involves specific procedures for data collection and analysis that include continual data sampling, coding, categorizing, and comparing in order to generate theory about social phenomena. In very simplified terms, the grounded theorist collects data on a topic (through interviews and observations), analyzes those data for conceptual categories, links the categories into a tentative theory, and then collects more data to see how the theory fits. This process repeats and continues, with the researcher

further developing conceptual categories and modifying the theory with each new set of data. The developing theory itself suggests different settings or people to sample (referred to as **theoretical sampling**) in order to compare and contrast aspects of the theory. Grounded theory researchers use many of the tools of the ethnographer to collect their data, but they select their cases and code, compare, and test emergent concepts in specialized ways.

Grounded theory helped to move social science research away from logical empiricism and supported qualitative research methods at a time when many in academe endorsed quantitative methods. Terms, concepts, and procedures that originated in grounded theory (such as **constant case comparison**, theoretical sampling, or data saturation) are used frequently by researchers employing methodologies other than grounded theory. A problem arises, however, when researchers claim to be doing grounded theory or to have developed “grounded theory” but are merely using such words because they appeal to committee members or proposal reviewers with logical empiricist leanings. Before calling your research grounded theory, learn more about it. Some books to begin with include Glaser and Strauss’s *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), Glaser’s *Theoretical Sensitivity* (1978), and Strauss and Corbin’s *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Practices for Developing Grounded Theory* (1998).

CASE STUDY

Case study has been used to mean different things in different disciplines. Case studies in the Harvard Business School are created as pedagogical tools for discussion in business classes. In qualitative inquiry, the term *case study research* refers to the intensive study of a case, but what a “case” means can vary, from one person to a village or from an event to a set of procedures such as the implementation of a particular program. The common denominator is that each—the person, the village, the event, the program—is a *bounded* integrated system with working parts (Stake, 1995). Defining something as “bounded” remains ambiguous, though, with the researcher deciding what will and will not be included within the boundaries. The study of the case, however defined, tends to involve in-depth and often longitudinal examination with data gathered through participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and document collection and analysis. The write-up tends to be descriptive and holistic, rather than thematic, although comparisons of more than one case frequently lend themselves to a search for patterns.

Stake (2000, p. 437) differentiates three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. The intrinsic case study contributes to better understanding of that particular case, such as of a specific child diagnosed with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). An instrumental case study is one that considers a particular case to “provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization” such as focusing on the child diagnosed with ADHD to provide insight into how schooling and the labeling of ADHD interact. When the instrumental case study

involves looking at several cases—at several children diagnosed with ADHD—it becomes a “collective case study” and allows investigation of “a phenomenon, population, or general condition.”

Although some see a case study as a research strategy, Stake (2000) observes that “case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied” (p. 435). Various methods and methodologies can be employed to do case study research, including quantitative methods. But as Schram (2006, 107) reminds us, “Whether you consider case study as a way of conceptualizing human social behavior or merely as a way of encapsulating it, its strategic value lies in its ability to draw attention to what can be learned from the single case” (p. 107). You focus on the complexity within the case, on its uniqueness, and on its linkages to the social context of which it is a part.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Whether it is called phenomenological, hermeneutic phenomenological, or interpretive phenomenological research, this approach is a methodology for researching the *lived* experiences of research participants based on the philosophies of Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Merleau-Ponty, and Sartre, among others. The focus is on how one comes to understand the world—on the *essences* of one’s perceptions and experiences of any given phenomenon. Like most research traditions, phenomenological research has its own language, including words quite common to everyday speech (such as *intention* or *intuition*), but used to signify specialized meanings. And as with other research traditions, you must read more widely to become familiar with the concepts and procedures associated. What follows is a brief introduction to this complex inquiry approach.

In general, **phenomenological research** is an in-depth inquiry into a topic with a small number of homogeneous participants. The researcher seeks to understand the experiences and perceptions of each participant, and to examine similarities and differences across cases. Generally, the experiences sought coalesce around a major transition or a significant event in the life of that person, such as having a first child or being informed of having cancer. The researcher seeks to understand how participants make sense of such experiences and uses particular methods based in phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophies for doing so.

For example, philosopher Merleau-Ponty wrote about the “*embodied* nature of our relationship to the world” and the “primacy of our own individual situated perspective” (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin 2009, p. 18). Because of this **embodiment**, no two people experience the same phenomena entirely alike. And no matter how well you get to know another person, that person’s consciousness will never become your consciousness. Sartre brought to phenomenology a focus on the absences in our perceptions of self and world, and how the absences are as important as what is present. Phenomenological research is thus concerned with dimensions of presence and absence—of one’s conscious relationship to something or someone that is physically present as well as, whether in memory or in anticipation, to something or

someone that is absent (Sokolowski, 2000). Another aspect of phenomenological inquiry is investigating and articulating the parts and wholes that make up the content of some experience, informed by *hermeneutics*, a philosophical theory about interpreting texts that began with biblical writings and then extended to other kinds of texts and eventually to social phenomena, and introduced into phenomenological work by Schleiermacher and Heidegger. Through a series of these and other distinct, philosophical constructs, phenomenologists seek insight into the identifying nature of a person's experience.

A P P E N D I X B

Maintaining a Fieldwork Notebook

Use three-ring notebooks in which you can label dividers for organizing data and research thoughts. What follows is an outline for the bare essentials of keeping track of your research data and process. Organize it in a way that makes sense to you, but include ALL the pieces listed below.

1. Table of Contents (*clear and detailed*)
2. Fieldwork Plans (*all versions, dated, and chronologically arranged*)
 - a. Purpose for fieldwork
 - b. Concept map(s)
 - c. Research statement and research questions
3. Interview Questions (*all versions, dated, and chronologically arranged*)
4. Participant-Observation Notes
 - a. Note date, location, and the beginning and ending time of each.
 - b. Record as fully as possible the interactions taking place.
 - c. While in the process of observing, you may be struck by thoughts concerning the process. Jot them down, but mark them as your opinions, judgments, or questions.
 - d. After completing an observation, read through your notes. Make scribbled renditions legible, and add remembered, but omitted, descriptions. Do this as soon as possible, while your memory is fresh. Entering observation notes into computer files often helps with this remembering process.
5. Interview Notes
 - a. Note date, location, and the beginning and ending time of each interview period.
 - b. If not taping, record as closely to verbatim as possible. After completing an untaped interview, read through your notes as soon as possible. Make your scribbled renditions legible, and add remembered details. You may want to use a different color so that you can easily tell later which notes were taken on site and which were added. This can also be done on the computer.
 - c. If taping the interviews, include any notes that were taken, along with transcriptions.
 - d. After the interview, you may be struck by thoughts concerning the process or with better interview questions. Jot all this down.

6. The Reflexive Journal (*All thoughts and reactions should be recorded along the way and not at the end of your research. The main purpose is to reflect on what you are doing while you are doing it. Date all entries.*)
 - a. Begin your reflexive journal when you start conceiving your research project. Develop thoughts about the purpose and significance of your research topic. Work out exactly what it is you want to learn and why.
 - b. Keep a running record of all questions your fieldwork raises. This list may include questions you would like to ask other people, substantive questions, or methodological questions.
 - c. Record thoughts about you as researcher and your assumptions about, interactions with, and feelings toward research participants. Think about what areas of subjectivity are roused by your fieldwork. How do you think you are affecting the data collected? What things should you perhaps do differently?
 - d. Record any problems you may be having in the fieldwork process. Think about possible solutions to these problems.
7. Analysis
 - a. Organize and extend thoughts triggered by data collection. This is beginning the stages of analysis in that you are reflecting upon what you are seeing and creating hunches about what is happening.
 - b. Codes (keep all versions, dated, and chronologically arranged).
 - c. Show coded data (this may be done after it has been sorted).
 - d. Keep a record of all versions of potential themes or patterns.
 - e. Include working diagrams, charts, matrices.

This page intentionally left blank

Glossary

- Archival materials:** Materials used in document-based research. Documents may be historical or current and range from library archives to scrapbooks in people's attics.
- Autoethnography:** Research that inquires into the self as part of a sociocultural context. The resulting text tends to evoke the experience for the reader.
- Backyard research:** Inquiry into one's own institution, agency, or community.
- Blog:** An ongoing narrative published on the Internet, produced by an individual or group of users. Short for *Web log*.
- CAQDAS:** See *QDAS*.
- Case study:** An intensive study over time of an individual, institution, organization, or some bounded group, place, or process.
- Coding:** Representing a characteristic, dimension, process, theme, and so on in a data set. In qualitative research, passages of text may be marked off by codes and thereby linked to like passages that are then studied to learn more about how an idea or theme is represented and expressed within the study group. Sometimes referred to as *indexing* or *categorizing*.
- Codebook:** A list of codes and subcodes, along with their descriptors and any guidelines the researcher has made for their use.
- Colonial research:** A term sometimes applied to research that is imposed on a place or group of people by an outsider and/or a person of power. In colonial inquiry, research purposes do not serve those who are researched, decisions are made and controlled by the researcher, and relational distance is maintained between the researcher and the researched.
- Communitarianism:** A social ethic described as "communitarian, egalitarian, democratic, critical, caring, engaged, performative, social justice oriented" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2008, p. 542).
- Conceptual framework:** Theories, ideas, and definitions, often from multiple disciplines, that inform one's research. Together, these concepts can create a useful organizational schema for situating and posing inquiry questions.
- Concientization:** A consciousness-raising process through inquiry and dialog, often used in participatory action research.
- Constant case comparison:** A procedure that comes from grounded theory research in which new data, particularly from new cases, are coded and continually compared to previously collected data to better refine theoretical categories and to assist the researcher in pursuing new cases or questions.
- Crisis of representation:** First used by George Marcus and Michael Fischer (1999), this term refers to a critique of "writing culture," and the ability of language to ever adequately describe any social reality. Researchers give up the authoritative stance and accept that knowledge is always partial, situated in a particular context with specific historical understandings.

Critical race theory: A theory that focuses on ways in which racism is so embedded in society that it appears “normal” for many. It portrays race as a socially constructed means to identify and classify people.

Cultural relativism: The “view that different cultures define phenomena in different ways, so that the perspective of one cannot be used to judge or even understand that of another” (Gibbs, 2007, p. 151). Relativism is also used in an ethical sense to refer to the absence of universal moral principles for judging the rightness or wrongness of an act.

Decolonizing research: Research in which the goals, methods, and uses of the research seek to challenge power relationships that serve to oppress and demean particular groups of peoples. See also *postcolonialism*.

Deconstruction: A process of revealing contradictions and inconsistencies within texts (written or lived) that previously were assumed to be coherent or true. “The aim of deconstruction is not to decode a *text* to somehow reveal its meaning or truth but to displace or unsettle taken-for-granted concepts” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 63).

Deductive: Reasoning that moves from the theoretical/general/abstract to the specific/concrete. Deductive reasoning is often contrasted with *inductive* reasoning.

Discourse analysis: “Method of investigating rules and structures that govern and maintain the production of particular written, oral, or visual texts” (Hay, 2005, p. 281).

Embodiment: See *identity categories*.

Epistemology: A philosophy that deals with the nature of knowledge or the ways in which we know the world and justify our beliefs about the world.

Ethnodrama: An arts based approach in which researchers turn their data into dramas and perform them as a way to analyze and represent research.

Ethnography: A form of interpretive research that uses culture as the theoretical framework for studying and describing a group of people. Methods tend to rely on long-term immersion in the field, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.

Field journal: A notebook (or computer files) in which the researcher records observations of people, places, events, activities, and conversations, as well as ideas, reflections, hunches, notes about patterns that seem to be emerging, and personal reactions. Also referred to as a *field log*.

Field log: See *field journal*.

Fieldwork: Research that takes place in real-life situations rather than laboratories, usually involving participant observation, conversations, and interviews.

Focus group: A selected set of people gathered by a researcher with the purpose of facilitating a discussion on a particular topic.

Gatekeeper: The person or persons who must give their consent before a researcher may enter a research setting and with whom the researcher must negotiate the conditions of access.

Grand tour question: A request for the respondent to verbally take the interviewer through a place, a time period, or a sequence of events or activities or to describe some group of people or objects.

Grounded theory methodology: A research process of building theory that is grounded in research data through a continuous, reflexive process of gathering data, coding, identifying themes, and then seeking out more data for comparison.

- Idealist:** A person who holds the perspective that reality does not exist independently of people's thoughts but is based on ideas that shape what and how we know.
- Identity categories:** Fixed personal factors that are impossible or difficult to change and include attributes such as skin color, gender, age, size, and physical disability. Also referred to as *embodiment*.
- Inductive:** Reasoning that moves from the specific or concrete to the general or abstract. This type of reasoning is often associated with qualitative research and contrasted with *deductive* reasoning.
- Intersubjectivity:** "The method of connecting as many different perspectives on the same data as possible" (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2002, p. 119). Multiple sources are used to get different interpretations of the same account or behavior or situation, including the researcher's interpretation.
- Interview schedule:** A list of interview questions in which wording as well as order may be subject to change as the researcher becomes informed by interviewees.
- Kinesis:** Postures, positions, and movement that serve to communicate in some way.
- Lay summary:** A summary of the research purpose and procedures presented (written or oral) to participants. Lay summaries generally are required by Institutional Review Boards and accompany consent forms.
- Life history inquiry:** Research that focuses on the life experiences of one or several individuals, with data gathered primarily through interviews.
- Local facilitator:** A knowledgeable person local to the research site with whom a nonlocal researcher works closely in a variety of ways. Local facilitators are also sometimes referred to as *local consultants*, *collaborators*, or *informants*, although field relationships can vary within and across these terms.
- Logical positivism:** A paradigm which held that knowledge was "limited to what could be logically deduced from theory, operationally measured, and empirically replicated" (Patton, 2002, p. 92). In the mid-twentieth century, logical positivism was basically replaced by a more moderate philosophy referred to as *logical empiricism*.
- Material culture:** The artifacts or physical materials found within a group or culture that hold or signify meaning, history, and values for members of the group.
- Memos:** Notes to oneself about particular thoughts, insights, or questions jotted during fieldwork and data analysis. Sometimes referred to as *observer comments*.
- Method:** A technique or procedure that is used to generate or analyze data.
- Methodology:** A theoretical framework that guides how researchers come to know what they know. The methodological framework includes assumptions about what is of importance to study, what constitutes legitimate knowledge, and what counts as evidence for making knowledge claims.
- Narrative analysis:** A form of discourse analysis that focuses on the textual devices at work in the construction of oral or written narratives and that may include explorations of the everyday contexts in which the stories are told.
- Narrative research:** Inquiry procedures that, in general, focus on the stories that people tell about their lives. These procedures take a variety of approaches, including life history, oral history, biography, personal narrative, and narrative analysis.

- Objectivity:** A belief that it is possible or desirable to approximate the separation of personal opinions, feelings, and biases from data collection and analysis. This term is often contrasted with *subjectivity*.
- Observer comments:** Analytic notes or recordings of things that occur to a researcher during moments of fieldwork. See also *memos*.
- Ontology:** Beliefs about the world, what makes up the world, and how those aspects interrelate. Ontology asks, "What is the nature of reality, and what can be known about it?"
- Oral history inquiry:** Interview inquiry that focuses on historical events, skills, ways of life, or cultural patterns that may be changing.
- Paradigm:** A philosophical or theoretical framework made up of interrelated assumptions and values that provide a way of seeing and inquiring into the world. The term *paradigm* became popular after its use by Thomas Kuhn (1962).
- Participant observation:** A research method that involves the researcher as an interacting observer in the everyday life of research participants. It sometimes is used as a synonym for *fieldwork*, including procedures of observation, interviewing, and document collection.
- Participatory mapping:** A group of people mapping or diagramming together some material aspect of their lives, usually with the assistance of a researcher/facilitator. Sometimes also referred to as *community mapping* or *ethnocartography*.
- Phenomenological research:** In-depth inquiry that seeks to understand how a small number of participants make sense of specific life experiences. Researchers employ particular methods based in phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophies to obtain insight into the identifying nature of a person's experience.
- Photo-elicitation:** "Using photographs to invoke comments, memory and discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview" (Banks, 2007, p. 65).
- Pilot study:** An abbreviated research project with the purpose of practicing and testing procedures that could be used in a full-scale inquiry.
- Poetic transcription:** A creative analytic practice in which the researcher fashions poem-like pieces from the words of interviewees.
- Positionality:** "A researcher's social, locational, and ideological placement relative to the research project or to other participants in it" (Hay, 2005, p. 290). Positionality is often influenced by embodied factors such as race or gender and positions such as class and formative experiences.
- Postcolonialism:** A theory that critiques ways in which Western thinking (liberal humanism and modernist ideals) dominates lives of people throughout the world. This theory works to bring the voices of the margins to the center, to displace Western hegemony. See also *decolonizing research*.
- Postmodernism:** "A movement in the humanities and social sciences that . . . embraces the pluralism of multiple perspectives, knowledges, and voices rather than the grand theories of modernism" (Hay, 2005, p. 290). Core concepts in postmodernism include fragmentation, indeterminacy, and heterogeneity.
- Postmodernity:** Indicates a break from modernity, a historical period of time marked, in part, by industrialization. Postmodernity is the new world order in the time of globalization, the decline of the nation-state, and an age of information technologies (Ahmed & Shore, 1995).

- Postpositivism:** A term used by some to refer to *logical empiricism*, a less strict form of logical positivism, and by others to refer to anything other than logical positivism. In the latter use of the term, all paradigms other than early positivism would be forms of postpositivist thought.
- Poststructuralism:** A set of cultural theories that react to structuralism and closure of any kind. Associated with French scholars Derrida, Foucault, and others, poststructuralism asserts that “meaning is unstable, never fixed”; that “everything is a *text*—and all texts are interrelated” (Schwandt, 1997, p. 122); and that *deconstructionism* is a strategy for revealing ways in which texts support and maintain beliefs that are often taken for granted and serve to legitimate dominant groups.
- Praxis:** A relationship between thought and action, between theory and practice. Praxis refers to more than putting theory into action; it also involves continual reflection on and inquiry into experience and the meaning of concepts used in everyday interactions.
- Presupposition question:** A question in which the interviewer presupposes “that the respondent has something to say” (Patton, 2002, p. 369).
- Problem statement:** See *research questions*.
- Problematize:** To question taken-for-granted assumptions, posit other possible interpretations of social phenomena, and/or draw attention to their complexity.
- Proxemics:** The study of how people communicate through their use of space, particularly social spaces.
- QDAS:** Acronym for qualitative data analysis software. These software programs assist in data analysis through computerized tools for organizing, coding, sorting, cross-referencing, building theory, displaying, and so on. Also referred to as *computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software*, or *CAQDAS*.
- Qualitative research:** A type of research that focuses on qualities, such as words or observations, that are difficult to quantify and that lend themselves to interpretation or deconstruction. Various approaches or methodologies are included under this rubric that tend to rely on participant observation and in-depth interviewing as research methods. Also referred to as *qualitative inquiry* and *qualitative methods*.
- Quantitative research:** A type of research that focuses on quantities, with measurement often central to its purposes. Various approaches may be employed and tend to involve large numbers of people, use an instrument such as a survey, and be analyzed statistically. Also referred to as *quantitative inquiry* and *quantitative methods*.
- Queer theory:** A theory that focuses on the ways in which sexual and gender identity is socially and culturally constructed and on the shifting boundaries and ambivalences in these constructions. It challenges the concept of heteronormativity, the perspective that heterosexuality is/should be the normal (and legal) way for interactions.
- Rapport:** An attribute of accord or affinity that is instrumental to a variety of professional relationships, including research.
- Readers’ theater:** An arts based practice in which research data are shaped into dramas, sometimes with characters inserted to represent abstract notions such as “theory” or “popular culture.” Rather than memorize the script, presenters read text selections individually and sometimes in chorus. Staging is simple, usually involving chairs or stools and perhaps a few props.

Realist: A person who holds the view that “reality” exists independently of the mind or the way people think about it.

Realist tale: A research representation in which the author minutely documents details of the lives of people studied, using closely edited quotations, to report how life really is for a person or some set of people. In a realist tale, the researcher is absent from much, if not all, of the text, taking a position of “interpretive omnipotence” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 51).

Reflection: Giving careful thought to some act, action, interaction, process, and so on in order to gain insight, understanding, and/or plan for the future.

Reflexivity: Critical reflection on how a researcher, research participants, a setting, and a phenomenon of interest interact and influence each other. It includes “examining one’s personal and theoretical commitments to see how they serve as resources for generating particular data, for behaving in particular ways . . . and for developing particular interpretations” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 260).

Representation: A description or portrayal of some aspect of the social world. How researchers use language to describe or depict others, however, is an area of much discussion in qualitative inquiry. Few would claim that their descriptions reproduce or mirror the social world, but many argue for making their representations evidence based. Poststructuralists bring all acts of representation into question.

Research purposes: Practical and intellectual (and possibly personal) goals for a specific research project.

Research questions: A question or set of questions that serves to focus a study. Also referred to as a *problem statement*.

Semiotics: The study of signs and symbols—of things that stand for something else and, therefore, possess information.

Sign: A word or mark used to represent something else.

Social constructivism: A belief that knowledge is socially constructed or produced, including knowledge that appears to be “objective” or a “scientific truth.” This view is usually associated with the idealist philosophy.

Stakeholders: Those with a stake in some process. This term is often used in action research.

Standpoint epistemologies: A belief that knowledge is politically situated and that prevailing concepts, even those that appear to be “neutral,” serve the interests of dominant groups. Standpoint epistemologies elucidate the experiences, values, and interests of a group that has traditionally been oppressed or excluded (women, gays, lesbians, people of color, those who are colonized, etc.) and “are a means of deconstructing what has passed for knowledge, so as to expose its exclusions and dominant perspectives” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 276).

Subjective positions: Aspects of a person’s life history and personal experiences that help to form her or his values.

Subjectivity: A term used in different ways in research texts. It can refer to aspects of one’s personal history and attributes that form the basis for personal perspectives, beliefs, and feelings. It is sometimes used to refer to biases or prejudices, or to unwarranted claims. The term is often paired with *objectivity*. Poststructuralists claim that accounting for one’s subjectivity is impossible because there is no such thing as a rational, knowable self.

Teacher research: Research carried out by teachers that involves inquiry into and reflection on their own practice.

Text: “Traditionally synonymous with the written page, but now used more broadly to refer to a range of source forms including oral texts (including semi-structured interviews and oral histories), images (including painting, photographs, and maps) as well as written and print texts (including newspapers, letters, and brochures)” (Hay, 2005, p. 296). From a poststructuralist perspective, everything is a text and capable of being rewritten.

Thematic analysis: A type of data analysis, frequently used in qualitative research, that involves searching for themes and patterns through segregating data into categories through a process of coding and then analyzing the coded clumps of data in a variety of ways.

Theoretical sampling: A grounded theory technique in which the researcher refines concepts and theoretical constructs by finding gaps in data or holes in developing theories and then sampling specific cases that can contribute to the emerging theory.

Theoretical saturation: A grounded theory concept that refers to data seeming complete and integrated in that successive examination of sources yields redundancy and nothing new for the emerging theory.

Thick description: A term coined by Geertz (1973) that refers to “description that goes beyond the mere or bare reporting of an act (thin description), but describes and probes the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action” (Denzin, 1989, p. 39).

Triangulation: A term taken from surveying and navigation, it “is a means of checking the integrity of the inferences one draws” (Schwandt, 1997, p. 163). Although the most common form of triangulation in qualitative research is through using multiple methods of data collection, triangulation may also refer to incorporation of multiple kinds of data sources (i.e., not just teachers but students and parents as well), multiple investigators, or multiple theoretical perspectives.

Trustworthiness: A term coined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and used to refer to a set of criteria for assessing the quality of a study. Lincoln and Guba later revisited their original criteria and added a second set of *authenticity* criteria.

This page intentionally left blank

References

- Aamodt, A. (1989). Ethnography and epistemology: Generating nursing knowledge. In J. Morse (Ed.), *Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue* (pp. 29–40). Rockville, MD: Aspen.
- Agar, M. (1973). *Ripping and running: A formal ethnography of urban heroin addicts*. New York, NY: Seminar Press.
- Agar, M. (1980). *The professional stranger*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Agar, M. (1995). Literary journalism as ethnography. In J. Van Maanen (Ed.), *Representation in ethnography* (pp. 112–129). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ahmed, A., & Shore, C. (1995). Introduction: Is anthropology relevant to the contemporary world? In A. Ahmed & C. Shore (Eds.), *The future of anthropology: Its relevance to the contemporary world* (pp. 12–45). London, UK: Athlone.
- Altheide, D., & Schneider, C. J. (2013). *Qualitative media analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- American Anthropological Association. (2012). *Statement on ethics: Principles of professional responsibilities*. Arlington, VA: Author. Available at: aaanet.org/profdev/ethics/upload/Statement-on-Ethics-Principles-of-Professional-Responsibility.pdf
- Anderson, N. (1923). *The hobo: The sociology of the homeless man*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ashton, P., & Webb, R. (1986). *Making a difference: Teacher's sense of efficacy and student achievement*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Association of Internet Researchers. (2012). *Ethical decision-making and Internet research*, version 2. Available at: aoir.org/reports/ethics2.pdf
- Atkinson, R. (2002). The life story interview. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 121–140). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ball, S. (1985). Participant observation with pupils. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Strategies of educational research: Qualitative methods* (pp. 23–53). Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.
- Bandelier, A. F. (1971). *The delight makers: A novel of prehistoric Pueblo Indians*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. (Original work published 1890)
- Banks, M. (2007). *Using visual data in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Barone, T. (1990). Using the narrative text as an occasion for conspiracy. In E. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp. 305–326). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Barone, T., & Eisner, E. (2012). *Arts based research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Barrios de Chungara, D., & Viezzer, M. (1978). *Let me speak! Testimony of Domitila, a woman of the Bolivian mines* (V. Ortiz, Trans.). New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Bateson, M. C. (1984). *With a daughter's eye: A memoir of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson*. New York, NY: Morrow.
- Bateson, M. C. (1990). *Composing a life*. New York, NY: Plume.
- Baym, N., & Markham, A. (2009). Introduction. In A. Markham & N. Baym (Eds.), *Internet inquiry: Conversations about method* (pp. vii–xix). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Behar, R. (1993). *Translated woman: Crossing the border with Esperanza's story*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

- Behar, R. (1995). Writing in my father's name: A diary of *Translated Woman's* first year. In R. Behar & D. Gordon (Eds.), *Women writing culture* (pp. 65–82). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Belenky, M., Bond, L., & Weinstock, J. (1997). *A tradition that has no name: Nurturing the development of people, families, and communities*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Belmont Report: *Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research*. (1979). National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Available at: hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.html#xrespect
- Benthall, J. (1995). From self-applause through self-criticism to self-confidence. In A. Ahmed & C. Shore (Eds.), *The future of anthropology: Its relevance to the contemporary world* (pp. 1–11). London, UK: Athlone.
- Berg, B. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berlinski, M. (2007). *Fieldwork*. New York, NY: Picador.
- Bishop, P. (1998). *Portraits of partnership: The relational work of effective middle level partner teachers*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Bishop, R. (2008). Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 145–183). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bloom, L. R. (1998). *Under the sign of hope: Feminist methodology and narrative interpretation*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Bloom, L. R., & Sawin, P. E. (2009). Ethical responsibility in feminist research: Challenging ourselves to do activist research with women in poverty. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22(3), 333–351.
- Bloor, M., & Wood, F. (2006). *Keywords in qualitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Blumenfeld-Jones, D. (1995). Dance as a mode of research representation. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(4), 391–401.
- Blumenfeld-Jones, D. (2008). Dance, choreography, and social science research. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 175–184). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Boal, A. (2006). *Aesthetics of the oppressed* (A. Jackson, Trans.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bochner, A., & Ellis, C. (1996). Introduction: Talking over ethnography. In C. Ellis & A. Bochner (Eds.), *Composing ethnography: Alternative forms of qualitative writing* (pp. 13–45). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (2007). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (5th ed.). Boston: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.
- Bonfil Batalla, G. (1996). *México profundo: Reclaiming a civilization*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bottorff, J. (1994). Using videotaped recordings in qualitative research. In J. Morse (Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 244–261). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bray, J. N., Lee, J., Smith, L. L., & Yorks, L. (2000). *Collaborative inquiry in practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bruner, E. (1984). Introduction: Opening up of anthropology. In E. Bruner (Ed.), *Text, play, and story: The construction and reconstruction of self and society* (pp. 1–16). Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society.
- Bruner, E. (1986). Experience and its expressions. In V. Turner & E. Bruner (Eds.), *The anthropology of experience* (pp. 3–30). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Bruner, E. (1993). Introduction: The ethnographic self and the personal self. In P. Benson (Ed.), *Anthropology and literature* (pp. 1–26). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Bryant, I. (1996). Action research and reflective practice. In D. Scott & R. Usher (Eds.), *Understanding educational research* (pp. 106–119). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Busier, H. (1997). *Beyond the yellow brick road: Educational portraits of anorexic women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Busier, H., Clark, K., Esch, R., Glesne, C., Pigeon, Y., & Tarule, J. (1997). Intimacy in research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 10(2), 165–170.
- Butler-Kisber, L. (2002). Artful portrayals in qualitative inquiry: The road to found poetry and beyond. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 48(3), 229–239.
- Caro, R. (1988). Lyndon Johnson and the roots of power. In W. Zinsser (Ed.), *Extraordinary lives: The art and craft of American biography* (pp. 199–231). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Caro, S. (2012). Publishing your dissertation as a monograph. In J. Miller & O. Schmid (Eds.), *How to get published in anthropology* (pp. 49–58). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Casas, J. (2005). Scenes from 14. In J. Saldaña (Ed.), *Ethnodrama: An anthology of reality theatre* (pp. 45–61). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Cassell, J. (1987). Cases and comments. In J. Cassell & S. E. Jacobs (Eds.), *Handbook on ethical issues in anthropology* (pp. 37–75). Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Cassell, J., & Jacobs, S. E. (Eds.). (1987). Introduction. In *Handbook on ethical issues in anthropology* (pp. 1–3). Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Chapin, M., & Threlkeld, B. (2001). *Indigenous landscapes: A study in ethnocartography*. Washington, DC: Center for the Support of Native Lands.
- Chapman, J., Swedberg, A., & Sykes, H. (2005). Wearing the secret out. In J. Saldaña (Ed.), *Ethnodrama: An anthology of reality theatre* (pp. 103–120). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 675–694). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Christians, C. (2000). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 133–155). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Christians, C. (2011). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 61–80). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Clandinin, D. J. (2013). *Engaging in narrative inquiry*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Clark, K. A. (1999). *Moving beyond recognition: Voices of women academics that have experience being first-generation college students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Clark/Keefe, K. (2002). A fine line: Integrating art and fieldwork in the study of self-conceptualization and educational experiences. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 48(3), CD-ROM supplement.
- Clark/Keefe, K. (2014). Becoming artist, becoming educated, becoming undone: Toward a nomadic perspective of college student identity development. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 27(1), 110–134.
- Coles, R. (1989). *The call of stories: Teaching and the moral imagination*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Collier, J., Jr., & Collier, M. (1986). *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method* (Rev. ed.). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Cressey, P. G. (2008). *The taxi-dance hall: A sociological study in commercialized recreation and city life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1932)
- Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Crisler, L. (1958). *Arctic wild*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London, UK: Sage.
- Dalton, M. (1959). *Men who manage: Fusions of feeling and theory in administration*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Davies, B., & Gannon, S. (Eds.). (2006). *Doing collective biography: Investigating the production of subjectivity*. New York, NY: Open University Press.
- Davies, K. (1996). Capturing women's lives: A discussion of time and methodological issues. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19(6), 579–588.
- Davis, H. (2001). The management of self: Practical and emotional implications of ethnographic work in a public hospital setting. In K. Gilbert (Ed.), *The emotional nature of qualitative research* (pp. 37–61). New York, NY: CRC Press.
- Davis, J. (1988). Teachers, kids, and conflict: Ethnography of a junior high school. In J. Spradley & D. McCurdy (Eds.), *The cultural experience: Ethnography in complex society* (pp. 103–121). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press. (Original work published 1972)
- Delamont, S. (1992). *Fieldwork in educational settings: Methods, pitfalls and perspectives*. Washington, DC: Falmer Press.
- Delamont, S. (2002). Whose side are we on? Revisiting Becker's classic ethical questions at the fin de siècle. In T. Welland & L. Pugsley (Eds.), *Ethical dilemmas in qualitative research* (pp. 149–163). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Denzin, N. (1989). *The research act* (Rev. ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Denzin, N. (2008). Interpretive biography. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 117–125). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N., & Giardina, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Qualitative inquiry and social justice*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y., & Smith, L. T. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Diaz, J. (2004). *Marginalized narratives in the academy: One Chicano's story of his journey in higher education*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Dicks, B., Mason, B., Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (2005). *Qualitative research and hypermedia: Ethnography for the digital age*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Didion, J. (1988, January 19). Interview on *Fresh Air* program, National Public Radio.
- Diener, E., & Crandall, R. (1978). *Ethics in social and behavioral research*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Dillard, A. (1982). *Living by fiction*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Donmoyer, R., & Yennie-Donmoyer, J. (1995). Data as drama: Reflections on the use of readers theater as a mode of qualitative data display. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(4), 402–428.
- Dunbar, C. (2008). Critical race theory and indigenous methodologies. In N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies* (pp. 85–100). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Dunbar, C., Rodriguez, D., & Parker, L. (2003). Race, subjectivity, and the interview process. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns* (pp. 131–150). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Edwards, P. N. (2012). Presenting a paper. In J. Miller & O. Schmid (Eds.), *How to get published in anthropology* (pp. 24–37). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

- Eisenhart, M. (2006). Representing qualitative data. In J. Green, G. Camilli, & P. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. 567–581). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Eisner, E. (1981). On the differences between scientific and artistic approaches to qualitative research. *Educational Researcher*, 10(4), 5–9.
- Eisner, E. (1997). The promise and perils of alternative forms of data representation. *Educational Researcher*, 26(6), 4–10.
- Eisner, E. (2008). Art and knowledge. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 3–12). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, C. (2009). *Revision: Autoethnographic reflections on life and work*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 12, 1. Retrieved from: qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1589
- Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Composing ethnography: Alternative forms of qualitative writing*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Research as subject. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 733–768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Elm, M. S. (2009). How do various notions of privacy influence decisions in qualitative Internet research? In A. Markham & N. Baym (Eds.), *Internet inquiry: Conversations about method* (pp. 69–87). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Enslar, E. (2001). *The vagina monologues*. New York, NY: Villard.
- Erickson, F. (1973). What makes school ethnography “ethnographic?” *Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter*, 4(2), 10–19.
- Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed., pp. 119–161). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Esch, R. (1996). *Conversation between intimates, an evening of chamber music: Girls’ friendship, self, and experience during the transition from childhood to adolescence*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Esteva, G., & Prakash, M. S. (1998). *Grassroots post-modernism*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Fariello, A. (Curator), with R. Belt, T. Belt, E. Conley, A. Denson, J. Eastman, H. Francis, C. Glesne, J. Marley, & Y. Wade. (2013–2014). *Understanding our past, shaping our future*. Touring exhibit. Cherokee, NC: Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and Institute of Museum and Library Services.
- Faulkner, S. (2009). *Poetry as method: Reporting research through verse*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Feldman, M. S., Bell, J., & Berger, M. T. (2003). *Gaining access: A practical and theoretical guide for qualitative researchers*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Finch, J. (1984). It’s great to have someone to talk to: The ethics and politics of interviewing women. In C. Bell & H. Roberts (Eds.), *Social researching: Politics, problems and practice* (pp. 70–88). London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Fine, G., & Sandstrom, K. (1988). *Knowing children: Participant observation with minors*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Flax, J. (1990). Postmodernism and gender relations in feminist theory. In L. J. Nicholson (Ed.), *Feminism/postmodernism* (pp. 39–62). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Flinders, D. (1992). In search of ethical guidance: Constructing a basis for dialogue. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 5(2), 101–115.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1975)
- Freilich, M. (1977). *Marginal natives at work: Anthropologists in the field*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum. (Original work published 1970)
- Fulwiler, T. (1985). Writing is everybody's business. *National Forum: Phi Kappa Phi Journal*, 65(4), 21–24.
- Furney, K. (1997). *Caring as the cornerstone of change: A cross-case analysis of three schools' experience in implementing general and special education reform*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Galliher, J. F. (1982). The protection of human subjects: A reexamination of the professional code of ethics. In M. Bulmer (Ed.), *Social research ethics* (pp. 152–165). London, UK: Macmillan.
- Gans, H. (1982). The participant-observer as a human being: Observations on the personal aspects of fieldwork. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A sourcebook and field manual* (pp. 53–61). London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1988). *Work and lives: The anthropologist as author*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Geertz, C. (1995). *After the fact: Two countries, four decades, one anthropologist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Geertz, C. (2000). *Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Basic Books. (Original work published 1983)
- Gergen, M. M., & Gergen, K. J. (2012). *Playing with purpose: Adventures in performative social science*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Gibbs, G. (2007). *Analyzing qualitative data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Giddens, A. (1995). Epilogue: Notes on the future of anthropology. In A. Ahmed & C. Shore (Eds.), *The future of anthropology: Its relevance to the contemporary world* (pp. 272–277). London, UK: Athlone.
- Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1982)
- Glaser, B. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Glaser, M. (1982). The threat of the stranger: Vulnerability, reciprocity, and fieldwork. In J. Sieber (Ed.), *Ethics of social research: Fieldwork, regulation, and publication* (pp. 49–70). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.
- Glesne, C. (1985). *Strugglin', but no slavin': Agriculture, education, and rural young Vincentians*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana.
- Glesne, C. (1997). That rare feeling: Re-presenting research through poetic transcription. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3(2), 202–221.
- Glesne, C. (2003). The will to do: Youth regenerating community in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Educational Studies*, 34(2), 198–212.

- Glesne, C. (2012). *The campus art museum: A qualitative study*. Report written for the Samuel H. Kress Foundation at: kressfoundation.org/research/Default.aspx?id=35388
- Glesne, C. (2013). *The exemplary museum: Art and academia*. Cambridge, MA: MuseumsEtc.
- Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Goethals, M., & Fabing, S. (2007). *College and University Art Museum Program summary report*. Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Retrieved from: mac.mellon.org/CUAM/cuam_report.pdf
- Gold, R. (1969). Roles in sociological field observations. In G. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), *Issues in participant observation: A text and reader* (pp. 30–39). Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.
- Goodall, H. L., Jr. (2008). *Writing qualitative inquiry: Self, stories, and academic life*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Grbich, C. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Green, J., Camilli, G., & Elmore, P. (Eds.). (2006). Introduction to the handbook: What's complementary about complementary methods? In *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. xv–xx). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gubrium, A., & Harper, K. (2013). *Participatory visual and digital methods*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2002a). From the individual interview to the interview society. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 3–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.). (2002b). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2009). *Analyzing narrative reality*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2012). *Applied thematic analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. New York, NY: Tavistock.
- Hammersley, M., & Traianou, A. (2012). *Ethics in qualitative research: Controversies and contexts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hamnett, M., & Porter, D. (1983). Problems and prospects in Western approaches to cross-national social science research. In D. Landis & R. Breslin (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (pp. 61–81). New York, NY: Pergamon Press.
- Hansen, J. P. (1976). The anthropologist in the field: Scientist, friend, voyeur. In M. A. Rynkiewicz & J. P. Spradley (Eds.), *Ethics and anthropology: Dilemmas in field work* (pp. 123–134). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Harding, S. (1998). *Is science multicultural? Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Harker, R. (1993). *Searching for trees in the postmodern forest: Tales of an educational dog*. Paper presented at the NZARE Annual Conference, University of Waikato, New Zealand.
- Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hay, I. (Ed.). (2005). *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Henry, J. (1992). The paradox of friendship in the field: Analysis of a long-term Anglo-Japanese relationship. In J. Okely & H. Callaway (Eds.), *Anthropology and autobiography* (pp. 163–174). London, UK: Routledge.

- Hersey, J. (1988, July 18). Agee. *New Yorker*, pp. 72–82.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (Ed.). (2007). *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Higgs, C., & McAllister, L. (2001). Being a methodological space cadet. In H. Byrne-Armstrong, J. Higgs, & D. Horsfall (Eds.), *Critical moments in qualitative research* (pp. 30–43). Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Higgs, J. (2001). Charting standpoints in qualitative research. In H. Byrne-Armstrong, J. Higgs, & D. Horsfall (Eds.), *Critical moments in qualitative research* (pp. 44–67). Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Holliday, A. (2002). *Doing and writing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hollway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing qualitative research differently: Free association, narrative and the interview method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (Eds.). (2003). *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Homan, R., & Bulmer, M. (1982). On the merits of covert methods: A dialogue. In M. Bulmer (Ed.), *Social research ethics* (pp. 105–124). London, UK: Macmillan.
- Horowitz, R. (1986). Remaining an outsider: Membership as a threat to the research report. *Urban Life*, 14, 409–430.
- Howitt, R., & Stevens, S. (2005). Cross-cultural research: Ethics, methods, and relationships. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (2nd ed., pp. 30–50). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Humphreys, L. (1970). *Tearoom trade: Impersonal sex in public places*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Hymes, D. H. (1982). What is ethnography? In P. Gilmore & A. Glatthorn (Eds.), *Children in and out of school* (pp. 21–32). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Ives, E. D. (1995). *The tape-recorded interview: A manual for field workers in folklore and oral history* (2nd ed.). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Jacobs, S. E. (1987). Cases and solutions. In J. Cassell & S. E. Jacobs (Eds.), *Handbook on ethical issues in anthropology* (pp. 20–36). Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Jeske, J. (1984). *Demystifying the dissertation*. Los Angeles: University of California (ERIC document Reproduction Service no. ED 268 529; CS 209 648).
- Johnson, C. (1982). Risks in the publication of fieldwork. In J. Sieber (Ed.), *Ethics of social research: Fieldwork, regulation, and publication* (pp. 71–92). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.
- Kay, P. (1997). *Whose child is this? Reader's theater exploring the sociocultural tensions experienced by a parent and a teacher around a child's emotional and behavioral issues*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association meetings, Chicago, IL.
- Kemmis, S., & McTaggart, R. (Eds.). (1988). *The action planner* (3rd ed.). Warrn Ponds, Australia: Deakin University Press.
- Kinchelow, J., & McLaren, P. (2000). Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 279–313). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kindon, S. (2005). Participatory action research. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (2nd ed., pp. 207–220). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- King, S. (2000). *On writing: A memoir of the craft*. New York, NY: Pocket Books.
- Kleinman, S., & Copp, M. (1993). *Emotions and fieldwork*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Knowles, J. G., & Cole, A. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kong, T. S., Mahoney, D., & Plummer, K. (2003). Queering the interview. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns* (pp. 91–110). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (pp. 64–94). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuhn, T. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- La Farge, O. (1929). *Laughing boy*. New York, NY: Literary Guild of America.
- Lamott, A. (1995). *Bird by bird: Some instructions on writing and life*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Lather, P. (1996). Troubling clarity: The politics of accessible language. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(3), 525–545.
- Lather, P. (2007). *Getting lost: Feminist efforts toward a double(d) science*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lather, P., & Smithies, C. (1997). *Troubling the angels: Women living with HIV/AIDS*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1997a). Illumination: Framing the terrain. In S. Lawrence-Lightfoot & J. H. Davis, *The art and science of portraiture* (pp. 41–59). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1997b). Illumination: Navigating intimacy. In S. Lawrence-Lightfoot & J. H. Davis, *The art and science of portraiture* (pp. 135–159). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1997c). A view of the whole. In S. Lawrence-Lightfoot & J. H. Davis, *The art and science of portraiture* (pp. 3–16). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S., & Davis, J. H. (1997). *The art and science of portraiture*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Leavy, P. (2009). *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Leggo, C. (2008). Astonishing silence: Knowing in poetry. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 165–174). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lewis, O. (1963). *The children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican family*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Lichtman, M. (Ed.). (2011). *Understanding and evaluating qualitative educational research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Liebow, E. (1967). *Tally's Corner: A study of Negro streetcorner men*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
- Lincoln, Y. (1990). Toward a categorical imperative for qualitative research. In E. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp. 277–295). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Lincoln, Y., & Denzin, N. (2000). The seventh moment: Out of the past. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1047–1065). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y., & Denzin, N. (2008). Epilogue: The eighth and ninth moments—Qualitative research in/and the fractured future. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 539–554). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163–188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Linden, R. (1993). *Making stories, making selves: Feminist reflections on the Holocaust*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

- Lipson, J. (1994). Ethical issues in ethnography. In J. Morse (Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 333–354). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Loving, C. (1997). From the summit of truth to its slippery slopes. *American Education Research Journal*, 34(3), 421–452.
- Lyotard, J. G. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge* (G. Bennington & B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1979)
- Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Maguire, P. (1996). Considering more feminist participatory research: What's congruency got to do with it? *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2(1), 106–118.
- Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. New York, NY: Dutton.
- Malinowski, B. (1967). *A diary in the strict sense of the term*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Mann, C., & Stewart, F. (2000). *Internet communication and qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Marcus, G., & Fischer, M. (1999). *Anthropology as cultural critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Markham, B. (1983). *West with the night*. San Francisco, CA: North Point Press. (Original work published 1942)
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. (2011). *Designing qualitative research* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Martin, P., & Glesne, C. (2002). From the global village to the pluriverse? "Other" ethics for cross-cultural qualitative research. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 5(3), 205–221.
- Maxwell, J. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Sage.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 771–880.
- McCall, M. (2000). Performance ethnography: A brief history and some advice. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 421–433). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McDermott, R. (1987). Achieving school failure: An anthropological approach to illiteracy and social stratification. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (2nd ed., pp. 173–209). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Mears, C. L. (2009). *Interviewing for education and social science research: The gateway approach*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Measor, L. (1985). Interviewing: A strategy in qualitative research. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Strategies of educational research: Qualitative methods* (pp. 55–77). Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.
- Meho, L. (2006). E-mail interviewing in qualitative research: A methodological discussion. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 57(10), 1284–1295.
- Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (11th ed.). (2012). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.
- Michaels, A. (1996). *Fugitive pieces*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Mienczakowski, J. (1995). The theater of ethnography: The reconstruction of ethnography into theater with emancipatory potential. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(3), 360–375.

- Miles, M., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, J. E., & Schmid, O. (Eds.). 2012. *How to get published in anthropology: A guide for students and young professionals*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Miller, S. M. (1952). The participant observer and "overrapport." *American Sociological Review*, 17, 97–99.
- Mills, M., & Bettis, P. (2006). Organizational identity and identification during a departmental reorganization. In J. Vincent Anfara & N. Mertz (Eds.), *Theoretical frameworks in qualitative research* (pp. 73–84). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mitchell, C. (2011). *Doing visual research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mitchell, C., & Allnutt, S. (2008). Photographs and/as social documentary. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 251–263). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Moorehead, A. (1959). *No room in the ark*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers.
- Morgan, D. (1997). *Focus groups as qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Morgan, S., Mienczakowski, J., & Smith, L. (2001). Extreme dilemmas in performance ethnography: Unleashed emotionality of performance in critical areas of suicide, abuse, and madness. In K. Gilbert (Ed.), *The emotional nature of qualitative research* (pp. 163–178). New York, NY: CRC Press.
- Morse, J. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 220–235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Munoz, V. (1995). *Where something catches: Work, love, and identity in youth*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Murray, D. (1986). One writer's secrets. *College Composition and Communication*, 37, 146–153.
- Myerhoff, B. (1979). *Number our days: Culture and community among elderly Jews in an American ghetto*. New York, NY: Meridian.
- Myrdal, J. (1965). *Report from a Chinese village*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Nagel, P. (1988). The Adams women. In W. Zinsser (Ed.), *Extraordinary lives: The art and craft of American biography* (pp. 91–120). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Oates, S. B. (2014). *Women in the mirror: Seeing ourselves anew*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation proposal, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC.
- Oboler, R. (1986). For better or worse: Anthropologists and husbands in the field. In T. Whitehead & M. Conaway (Eds.), *Self, sex, and gender in cross-cultural fieldwork* (pp. 28–51). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- O'Reilly, K. (2005). *Ethnographic methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ottenberg, S. (1990). Thirty years of fieldnotes: Changing relationships to the text. In R. Sanjek (Ed.), *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology* (pp. 139–160). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Pachter, M. (Ed.). (1981). *Telling lives: The biographer's art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Panikkar, R. (1979). *Myth, faith and hermeneutics: Cross-cultural studies*. New York, NY: Paulist Press.
- Panikkar, R. (1995). *Invisible harmony: Essays on contemplation and responsibility*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pelto, P. J. (2013). *Applied ethnography: Guidelines for field research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Pelto, P. J., & Pelto, G. H. (1978). *Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Peshkin, A. (1978). *Growing up American: Schooling and the survival of community*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1982a). *The imperfect union: School consolidation and community conflict*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1982b). The researcher and subjectivity: Reflections on ethnography of school and community. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Doing the ethnography of schooling* (pp. 20–47). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Peshkin, A. (1985). From title to title: The evolution of perspective in naturalistic inquiry. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 16, 214–224.
- Peshkin, A. (1986). *God's choice: The total world of a fundamentalist Christian school*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1988a). In search of subjectivity—One's own. *Educational Researcher*, 17(7), 17–22.
- Peshkin, A. (1988b). Virtuous subjectivity: In the participant-observer's I's. In D. Berg & K. Smith (Eds.), *The self in social inquiry* (pp. 267–282). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Peshkin, A. (1991). *The color of strangers, the color of friends: The play of ethnicity in school and community*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Piirto, J. (2002). The question of quality and qualifications: Writing inferior poems as qualitative research. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(4), 431–445.
- Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2), 175–196.
- Pink, S. (2007). Visual methods. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium, & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice* (pp. 361–376). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pipher, M. (2007). *Writing to change the world*. New York, NY: Penguin Group.
- Plante, D. (1986, November 3). Profiles: Sir Steven Runciman. *New Yorker*, pp. 53–80.
- Plath, D. W. (1990). Fieldnotes, filed notes, and the conferring of note. In R. Sanjek (Ed.), *Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology* (pp. 371–384). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Plummer, K. (1983). *Documents of life*. Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Potter, W. J. (1996). *An analysis of thinking and research about qualitative methods*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Prasad, P. (2005). *Crafting qualitative research: Working in the postpositivist traditions*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Prosser, J., & Burke, C. (2008). Image-based educational research. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 407–419). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pugach, M. (1998). *On the border of opportunity: Education, community and language at the U.S.–Mexico line*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Punch, M. (1986). *The politics and ethics of fieldwork*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Purvis, J. (1985). Reflections upon doing historical documentary research from a feminist perspective. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Strategies of educational research: Qualitative methods* (pp. 179–205). Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.
- Rajchman, J. (1988, Spring). Foucault's art of seeing. *October*, 44, 89–117.
- Rapley, T. (2007). Interviews. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium, & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice* (pp. 15–33). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Reed-Danahay, D. (Ed.). (1997). *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. New York, NY: Berg.
- Reinharz, S., & Chase, S. E. (2003). Interviewing women. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns* (pp. 73–90). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Richardson, L. (1990). *Writing strategies: Reaching diverse audiences*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Richardson, L. (1994a). Nine poems. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 23(1), 3–13.
- Richardson, L. (1994b). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 516–529). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Richardson, L. (2000). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 923–946). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Richardson, L. (2002). Poetic representation of interviews. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 887–891). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Robson, K., & Robson, M. (2002). Your place or mine? Ethics, the researcher and the Internet. In T. Welland & L. Pugsley (Eds.), *Ethical dilemmas in qualitative research* (pp. 94–107). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Roorbach, B. (1998). *Writing life stories*. Cincinnati, OH: Story Press.
- Rosengarten, T. (1985). Stepping over cockleburrs: Conversations with Ned Cobb. In M. Pachter (Ed.), *Telling lives: The biographer's art* (pp. 105–131). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rossmann, G., & Rallis, S. (2012). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Runte, R. (2008). Blogs. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 313–322). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2000). Data management and analysis methods. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 769–802). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ryen, A. (2007). Ethical issues. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium, & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice* (pp. 218–235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Saldaña, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Ethnodrama: An anthology of reality theatre*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Saldaña, J. (2011). *Ethnotheatre: Research from page to stage*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Sanjek, R. (Ed.). (1990). *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Savyasaachi. (1998). Unlearning fieldwork: The flight of an arctic tern. In M. Thapar (Ed.), *Anthropological journeys: Reflections on fieldwork* (pp. 83–112). New Delhi, India: Orient Longman.
- Schaap, F. (2002). *The words that took us there: Ethnography in a virtual reality*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Aksant Academic.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1992). *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (2001). *Saints, scholars, and schizophrenics: Mental illness in rural Ireland*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schram, T. (2006). *Conceptualizing and proposing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.

- Schwandt, T. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwandt, T. (2007). *The SAGE dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Scott, D. (1996). Methods and data in educational research. In D. Scott & R. Usher (Eds.), *Understanding educational research* (pp. 52–73). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Seale, C. (2002). Computer-assisted analysis of qualitative interview data. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 651–670). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Shaffir, W. G., Stebbins, R. A., & Turowetz, A. (1980). *Fieldwork experience*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Shaw, C. (1966). *The jack roller: A delinquent boy's own story*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1930)
- Shostak, M. (1981). *Nisa: The life and words of a !Kung woman*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Shweder, R. (1986, September 21). Storytelling among the anthropologists. *New York Times Book Review*, pp. 1, 38.
- Sindell, P. (1987). Some discontinuities in the enculturation of Mistassini Cree children. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process* (2nd ed., pp. 378–386). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Smith, A. D. (1993). *Fires in the mirror: Crown Heights, Brooklyn, and other identities*. Garden City, NY: Anchor.
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Smith, M. (1954). *Baba of Karo*. London, UK: Faber.
- Smith, P. (1999). Food Truck's party hat. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5, 244–261.
- Smith, P. (2000). "I know how to do it": Stories of choice, control, and power in the lives of people with developmental disabilities. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Sociological Association of Aotearoa (New Zealand). (2012, updated). *Code of ethics*. Retrieved July 24, 2013, from: sites.google.com/site/nzsociology/Resources
- Sokolowski, R. (2000). *Introduction to phenomenology*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Spradley, J. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- St. Pierre, E. (2000). Poststructural feminism in education: An overview. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(5), 477–515.
- Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake, R. (2000). Case studies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 435–454). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stewart, J. (1989). *Drinkers, drummers, and decent folk: Ethnographic narratives of village Trinidad*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Stoller, P. (1989). *The taste of ethnographic things: The senses in anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strike, K. (2006). The ethics of educational research. In J. Green, G. Camilli, & P. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. 57–73). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Stringer, E. (2013). *Action research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strouse, J. (1988). The real reasons. In W. Zinsser (Ed.), *Extraordinary lives: The art and craft of American biography* (pp. 163–195). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

- Strunk, W., & White, E. B. (1979). *The elements of style* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Stuhlmiller, C. (2001). Narrative methods in qualitative research: Potential for therapeutic transformation. In K. Gilbert (Ed.), *The emotional nature of qualitative research* (pp. 63–80). New York, NY: CRC Press.
- Sullivan, G. (2008). Painting as research: Create and critique. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 239–250). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sullivan, M. A., Queen, S. A., & Patrick, R. C. (1958). Participant observation as employed in the study of a military training program. *American Sociological Review*, 23, 610–667.
- Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research [electronic version]. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6, 374–385.
- Sunstein, B. S., & Chiseri-Strater, E. (2002). *Field working: Reading and writing research* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Sze, M., & Wang, K. (1963). *The Tao of painting*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books. (Original work published 1701)
- Tafoya, T. (1989, August). Coyote's eyes: Native cognition styles. *Journal of American Indian Studies*, Special Issue.
- Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and ethnographic representation. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 455–486). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Teran, G. (2002). *Conversations with Mexican nomadic storyteller Gustavo Esteve: Learning from lives on the margins*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools*. New York, NY: Falmer Press.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Tierney, W. (2000). Undaunted courage: Life history and the postmodern challenge. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 537–553). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tillmann-Healy, L. M., & Kiesinger, C. E. (2001). Mirrors: Seeing each other and ourselves through fieldwork. In K. Gilbert (Ed.), *The emotional nature of qualitative research* (pp. 81–108). New York, NY: CRC Press.
- Trainor, J. K. (2012). Creating and presenting an academic poster. In J. Miller & O. Schmid (Eds.), *How to get published in anthropology* (pp. 12–23). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Treat, J. (2012). Mexico: Blood for silver, blood for gold. *Upside down world*. Retrieved October 31, 2013, from: upside-downworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/3545-mexico-blood-for-silver-blood-for-gold
- Treat, J. (2013, March 31). Bullets fired toward protestors on the anniversary of slain activist. *Americas Program*. Retrieved February 22, 2014 from: cipamericas.org/archives/9300
- Truss, L. (2003). *Eats, shoots & leaves*. New York, NY: Gotham Books.
- Tsing, A. L. (1993). *In the realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an out-of-way place*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tsing, A. L. (1997). Transitions as translations. In J. W. Scott, C. Kaplan, & D. Keates (Eds.), *Transitions, environments, translations: Feminisms in international politics* (pp. 253–272). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Turner, J. (1985). In defense of positivism. *Sociological Theory*, 3, 24–31.

- Usher, R. (1996). A critique of the neglected epistemological assumptions of educational research. In D. Scott & R. Usher (Eds.), *Understanding educational research* (pp. 9–32). New York, NY: Routledge.
- van den Hoonaard, W. C., & van den Hoonaard, D. K. (2013). *Essentials of thinking ethically in qualitative research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Van Maanen, J. (1983). The moral fix: On the ethics of fieldwork. In R. Emerson (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 269–287). Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Vashon, R. (1995). Guswenta or the intercultural imperative. *International Journal of Intercultural and Transdisciplinary Research*, 28, 1–73.
- Véa, A. (1993). *La Maravilla*. New York, NY: Plume.
- Vidich, A., & Bensman, J. (1968). *Small town in mass society* (Rev. ed.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Vidich, A., & Lyman, S. (2000). Qualitative methods: Their history in sociology and anthropology. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 37–84). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Waite, D. (2011). A simple card trick: Teaching qualitative data analysis using a deck of playing cards. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(10), 982–985.
- Wang, J. (1995). *Comparisons of research methods in China and United States from personal experience*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Vermont, Burlington.
- Wax, M. (1982). Research reciprocity rather than informed consent in fieldwork. In J. Sieber (Ed.), *Ethics of social research: Fieldwork, regulation, and publication* (pp. 33–48). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.
- Wax, R. (1971). *Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Weber, S. (2008). Visual images in research. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 41–53). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Weis, L., & Fine, M. (2004). *Working method: Research and social justice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Welch, D. D. (1994). *Conflicting agendas: Personal morality in institutional settings*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
- West, J. (1945). *Plainville, U.S.A.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wieder, A. (2004). Testimony as oral history: Lessons from South Africa. *Educational Researcher*, 33(6), 23–28.
- Wiles, R., Prosser, J., Bagnoli, A., Clark, A., Davies, K., Holland, S., & Renold, E. (2008). *Visual ethics: Ethical issues in visual research*. ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper. Manchester, England: Economic and Social Research Council, National Centre for Research Methods. Downloaded July 31, 2013, from: eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/421/1/MethodsReviewPaperNCRM%2D011.pdf
- Wilkins, L. T. (1979). Human subjects—Whose subject? In C. B. Klockars & F. W. O'Connor (Eds.), *Deviance and decency* (pp. 99–123). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Willis, J. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, S. (1989, May). Alaskan journal. *Vermont Quarterly*, pp. 13–18.
- Winchester, H. (2005). Qualitative research and its place in human geography. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (2nd ed., pp. 3–18). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Wincup, E. (2001). Feminist research with women awaiting trial: The effects on participants in the qualitative research process. In K. Gilbert (Ed.), *The emotional nature of qualitative research* (pp. 17–35). New York, NY: CRC Press.
- Wolcott, H. (1973). *The man in the principal's office: An ethnography*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Wolcott, H. (1981). Confessions of a trained observer. In T. S. Popkewitz & B. R. Tabachnick (Eds.), *The study of schooling* (pp. 247–263). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Wolcott, H. (1990). *Writing up qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wolcott, H. (1995). *The art of fieldwork*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Wolcott, H. (2009). *Writing up qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Woods, P. (1985). New songs played skillfully: Creativity and technique in writing up research. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Issues in educational research* (pp. 86–106). Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.
- Woods, P. (1986). *Inside schools: Ethnographic approaches and methods*. New York, NY: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Woolfson, P. (1988). Non-verbal interaction of Anglo-Canadian, Jewish-Canadian and French-Canadian physicians with their young, middle-aged, and elderly patients. *Visual Anthropology*, 1, 404–414.
- Wright, R., & Decker, S. (1997). *Armed robbers in action: Stickups and street culture*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Yoors, J. (1967). *The Gypsies*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Zigarmi, D., & Zigarmi, P. (1978). *The psychological stresses of ethnographic research*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Canada.
- Zinsser, W. (Ed.). (1986). *Extraordinary lives: The art and craft of American biography*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Zinsser, W. (1988). *Writing to learn: How to write and think clearly about any subject at all*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Zorbaugh, H. W. (1983). *The Gold Coast and the slum: A sociological study of Chicago's Near North Side*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1929)

Name Index

A

Aamodt, A., 280
 Adams, T. E., 24, 259
 Agar, M., 73, 206, 268
 Agee, J., 211
 Ahmed, A., 298
 Altheide, D., 82, 90
 Anderson, N., 23
 Appadurai, A., 7, 14
 Ashton, P., 235
 Atkinson, P., 44, 142, 190,
 226, 233
 Atkinson, R., 110

B

Ball, S., 81, 177
 Bandelier, A., 261
 Banks, M., 85, 88, 89, 94,
 166, 298
 Barone, T., 245–247, 268,
 270, 274
 Barrios de Chungara,
 D., 288
 Bonfil Batalla, G., 236
 Bateson, G., 273
 Bateson, M. C., 67, 77, 81,
 273, 287
 Baym, N., 165
 Bazeley, P., 215
 Behar, R., 143, 175, 220,
 258, 287
 Belenky, M., 281
 Bell, J., 140
 Bensman, J., 162
 Benthall, J., 22
 Berg, B., 129
 Berger, M. T., 140
 Berlinski, M., 145
 Bernard, H. R., 183
 Bettis, P., 37
 Biklen, S., 94
 Bishop, P., 202

Bishop, R., 136
 Bloom, L. R., 12, 13, 143
 Bloor, M., 123, 145,
 184, 186
 Blumenfeld-Jones, D.,
 263, 265
 Boal, A., 244
 Bochner, A., 23, 24,
 259, 270
 Bogdan, R., 94
 Bond, L., 281
 Bonfil Batalla, B., 236
 Bottorff, J., 86, 87
 Bray, J. N., 24, 25
 Bruner, E., 13, 222,
 243, 248
 Bryant, I., 24
 Bulmer, M., 132
 Burke, C., 89
 Busier, H., 179
 Butler-Kisber, L., 253

C

Camili, G., 17
 Caro, R., 67
 Caro, S., 279, 285
 Casas, J., 252
 Cassell, J., 158, 168
 Chapin, M., 90
 Chapman, J., 252
 Charmaz, K., 288
 Chiseri-Strater, E., 71, 78, 94,
 146, 151, 297
 Christians, C., 158, 181
 Clandinin, D., 287, 288
 Clark, K. A., 51, 101,
 263–264
 Clark/Keefe, K., 263–264
 Coffey, A., 44, 190
 Cole, A. L., 270
 Coles, R., 275
 Collier, J. Jr., 86

Collier, M., 86
 Copp, M., 141, 148
 Corbin, J., 288
 Crandall, R., 159, 160, 162
 Cressey, P. G., 23
 Creswell, J., 27, 37, 53
 Crisler, L., 1
 Crotty, M., 27

D

Dalton, M., 132
 Davies, B., 288
 Davies, K., 133
 Davis, H., 137
 Davis, J., 204
 Davis, J. H., 231, 287
 Decker, S., 51
 Delamont, S., 13, 241
 Denzin, N., 103, 128, 146, 180,
 285, 295, 301
 Diaz, J., 259
 Dicks, B., 44, 190, 222
 Didion, J., 81
 Diener, E., 159, 160, 162
 Dillard, A., 243, 258
 Donmoyer, R., 249
 Dunbar, C., 111

E

Edwards, P. N., 277
 Eisenhart, M., 152, 154
 Eisner, E., 27, 245, 246–248, 268
 Eisner, E. W., 270
 Ellis, C., 23–24, 259, 270
 Elm, M. S., 164
 Elmore, P., 17
 Emerson, R. M., 77, 94, 145,
 156, 239, 240
 Ensler, E., 252
 Erickson, F., 68, 161
 Esch, R., 36
 Esteva, G., 29

F

Fabing, S., 47
 Fariello, A., 265
 Faulkner, S., 257
 Feldman, M. S., 140
 Finch, J., 170
 Fine, G., 140, 177
 Fine, M., 12
 Fischer, M., 219, 295
 Flax, J., 14
 Flinders, D., 143, 179
 Flowers, P., 290
 Foucault, M., 28
 Freilich, M., 92
 Freire, P., 244
 Fretz, R. I., 77, 94, 145
 Fulwiler, T., 229
 Furney, K., 209, 210,
 253, 255

G

Galliher, J. F., 174
 Gannon, S., 288
 Gans, H., 142
 Geertz, C., 7, 21, 67, 221, 243,
 271–273, 275, 301
 Gergen, K. J., 244, 247, 250
 Gergen, M. M., 244, 247, 250
 Giardina, M., 285
 Gibbs, G., 45, 118, 119, 184–186,
 198, 208, 215, 296
 Giddens, A., 274
 Gilligan, C., 276
 Glaser, B., 77, 189, 194,
 288, 289
 Glazer, M., 168
 Glesne, C., 37, 47, 65, 146, 157,
 168, 176, 180, 213, 235,
 248, 253
 Goethals, M., 47
 Gold, R., 141
 Goodall, H. L. Jr., 221, 224, 225,
 232, 242, 279, 280
 Grbich, C., 185, 215
 Green, J., 17
 Guba, E., 11, 53, 54, 152, 156,
 212, 301
 Gubrium, A., 25, 163, 165

Gubrium, J. F., 77, 106, 111, 113,
 119, 127–129, 186, 288
 Guest, G., 206, 208

H

Hammersley, M., 142, 181,
 226, 233
 Hamnett, M., 168
 Hansen, J. P., 178–179
 Harding, S., 21, 275
 Harker, R., 13
 Harper, K., 25, 163, 165
 Hatch, J. A., 25, 27, 35, 60, 84,
 90, 119, 287
 Hay, I., 78, 90, 151, 296,
 298, 301
 Henry, J., 143
 Hersey, J., 211
 Hesse-Biber, S.N., 28
 Higgs, C., 12, 19
 Holliday, A., 211
 Hollway, W., 152
 Holstein, J. A., 77, 106, 111, 113,
 119, 127–129, 186, 288
 Homan, R., 132
 Horowitz, R., 92
 Howitt, R., 174
 Huberman, A. M., 202
 Humphreys, L., 132
 Hymes, D. H., 67

I

Ives, E. D., 110, 112, 114, 118,
 119, 129

J

Jacobs, S. E., 158, 163
 Jefferson, T., 152
 Jeske, J., 230
 Johnson, C., 239

K

Kay, P., 249
 Kemmis, S., 25
 Kiesinger, C. E., 259
 Kinchelow, J., 11
 Kindon, S., 25
 King, S., 69, 230, 231

Kleinman, S., 141, 148
 Knowles, J. G., 270
 Kong, T. S., 111
 Kopytoff, I., 89
 Krassner, E., 282
 Kuhn, T., 5, 298
 Kvale, S., 230

L

LaFarge, O., 261
 Lamott, A., 225, 242
 Larkin, M., 290
 Lather, P., 7, 151, 221
 Lawrence-Lightfoot, S., 64, 103,
 138, 140, 150, 153, 231, 287
 Leavy, P., 24, 244–246, 253, 258,
 259, 262, 265, 268, 270
 Lee, J., 24, 25
 Leggo, C., 252
 Lewis, O., 162, 287
 Lichtman, M., 242
 Liebow, E., 222
 Lincoln, Y., 11, 53, 54, 128,
 146, 152, 156, 158, 180,
 212, 295, 301
 Linden, R., 220, 287
 Lipson, J., 174
 Lofland, J., 73
 Lofland, L., 73
 Loving, C., 5
 Lyman, S., 22
 Lyotard, J. G., 28

M

MacQueen, K. M., 206
 Madison, D. S., 11, 26, 145,
 151, 187, v
 Maguire, P., 12
 Mahoney, D., 111
 Malinowski, B., 34, 137, 141
 Mann, C., 125, 126, 164
 Marcus, G., 219, 295
 Markham, A., 165
 Markham, B., 228
 Marshall, C., 40
 Martin, P., 180, 233
 Mason, B., 44, 190
 Maxwell, J., 32, 37, 39, 40,
 42, 62, 98

- McAllister, L., 19
 McCall, L., 12
 McCall, M., 250
 McDermott, R., 71
 McLaren, P., 11
 McTaggart, R., 25
 Mead, M., 160, 273
 Mears, C. L., 118, 256
 Measor, L., 137
 Meho, L., 111
 Michaels, A., 224
 Mienczakowski, J., 252
 Miles, M., 202
 Miller, J. E., 285
 Miller, S. M., 141
 Mills, M., 37
 Mitchell, C., 84, 165, 166
 Moorehead, A., 1
 Morgan, D., 123–125, 129
 Morgan, S., 252
 Morse, J., 52
 Munoz, V., 86, 241
 Murray, D., 227, 228
 Myerhoff, B., 1, 131, 151, 242, 287
 Myrdal, J., 97
- N**
 Nagel, P., 240
 Namey, E. E., 206
- O**
 Oates, S. B., 259, 260–261
 Oboler, L., 137
 Oboler, R., 137
 O'Reilly, K., 8, 65, 110, 189
 Ottenberg, S., 73
- P**
 Pachter, M., 218
 Panikkar, R., 68, 284
 Parker, L., 111
 Patrick, R. C., 132
 Patton, M., 2, 5, 28, 47, 50, 99–101, 129, 154, 297, 299
 Pelto, G. H., 142
 Pelto, P. J., 28, 72, 116, 142, 194
 Peshkin, A., 2, 65, 66, 88, 138, 146–147, 157, 176, 192, 231, 233
 Piirto, J., 268
 Pillow, W., 145, 156
 Pink, S., 136
 Pipher, M., 218
 Plante, D., 229
 Plath, D. W., 230
 Plummer, K., 111, 162, 175
 Porter, D., 168
 Potter, W. J., 5, 145
 Prakash, M. S., 29
 Prasad, P., 11, 14, 27
 Prosser, J., 89
 Pugach, M., 144, 183, 193, 232
 Punch, M., 174
 Purvis, J., 34
- Q**
 Queen, S. A., 132
- R**
 Rajchman, J., 258
 Rallis, S., 180
 Rapley, T., 99
 Reed-Danahay, D., 23
 Reinhartz, S., 111
 Richardson, L., 45, 219, 221, 223, 243, 244, 253, 258, 270
 Robson, K., 164
 Robson, M., 164
 Rodriguez, D., 111
 Roorbach, B., 209
 Rosengarten, T., 169
 Rossman, G., 40, 180
 Rubin, H., 97, 99
 Rubin, I., 97, 99
 Runte, R., 126
 Ryan, G. W., 183
 Ryen, A., 163
- S**
 Said, E., 28
 Saldaña, J., 195–198, 200, 201, 207, 215, 216, 250, 252, 268, 270
 Sandstrom, K., 140, 177
 Sanjek, R., 74, 94
 Savyasaachi, 136, 141
 Sawin, P. E., 13
 Schaap, F., 66
 Schaeffer, J., 166
 Scheper-Hughes, N., 92–93, 147, 162, 163, 169–170, 275, 285
 Schmid, O., 285
 Schneider, C. J., 82, 90
 Schram, T., 11, 32, 34, 37, 40, 41, 62, 99, 211, 290
 Schwandt, T., 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 154, 185, 296, 299–301
 Scott, D., 158
 Seale, C., 207
 Shaffir, W. G., 141
 Shaw, C., 23, 162
 Shaw, L. L., 77, 94, 145
 Shore, C., 298
 Shostak, M., 287
 Shweder, R., 223–225
 Sindell, P., 71
 Smith, A. D., 249, 252, 270
 Smith, J. A., 290
 Smith, L., 252
 Smith, L. L., 24, 25
 Smith, L. T., 11
 Smith, M., 97
 Smith, P., 262
 Smithies, C., 151
 Sokolowski, R., 13, 291
 Spradley, J., 67, 101, 197, 233
 St. Pierre, E., 7, 14, 15
 Stake, R., 289, 290
 Stebbins, R. A., 141
 Stevens, S., 174
 Stewart, F., 125, 126, 164
 Stewart, J., 243, 262
 Stoller, P., 152, 246
 Strauss, A., 77, 189, 194, 288, 289
 Strike, K., 159, 180
 Stringer, E., 25, 28
 Strouse, J., 238
 Strunk, W., 221, 237
 Stuhlmiller, C., 103
 Sullivan, G., 263

Sullivan, M. A., 132
 Sultana, F., 156
 Sunstein, B. S., 71, 78, 94, 146,
 151, 297
 Swedberg, A., 252
 Sykes, H., 252
 Sze, M., 3

T

Tafoya, T., 283
 Tedlock, B., 23, 65, 141,
 142, 287
 Teran, G., 234
 Tesch, R., 22
 Thomas, J., 10, 28
 Threlkeld, B., 90
 Tierney, W., 283
 Tillmann-Healy, L. M., 259
 Traianou, A., 181
 Trainor, J. K., 278
 Treat, J., 265
 Truss, L., 237
 Tsing, A. L., 148, 221, 241,
 267, 284
 Tuhiwai Smith, L., 158,
 176, 180
 Turner, J., 36
 Turowetz, A., 141

U

Usher, R., 5, 10

V

van den Hoonaard, D. K.,
 160, 161, 163, 164,
 167, 212
 van den Hoonaard, W. C.,
 160, 161, 163, 164,
 167, 212
 Van Maanen, J., 141, 219,
 222, 233, 238, 300
 Vashon, R., 284
 Véa, A., 214
 Vidich, A., 22, 162
 Viezzler, M., 288

W

Waite, D., 216
 Wang, J., 138
 Wang, K., 3
 Wax, M., 160
 Wax, R., 141
 Webb, R., 235
 Weber, S., 68
 Weinstock, J., 281
 Weis, L., 12
 Welch, D. D., 219

West, J., 162
 White, E. B., 221, 237
 Wieder, A., 97, 137, 143
 Wiles, R., 166
 Wilkins, L. T., 174
 Willis, J., 27
 Willis, P., 234, 276
 Wilson, S., 272, 284
 Winchester, H., 41
 Wincup, E., 142, 148
 Wolcott, H., 27, 38, 72, 146,
 209–210, 215, 230, 233,
 235, 241, 242
 Wood, F., 123, 145, 184, 186
 Woods, P., 226
 Woolfson, P., 66
 Wright, R., 51

Y

Yennie-Donmoyer, J., 249
 Yoors, J., 66
 Yorks, L., 24, 25

Z

Zigarmi, D., 142
 Zigarmi, P., 142
 Zinsser, W., 223, 242
 Zorbaugh, H. W., 23

Subject Index

A

AAA. *See* American Anthropological Association (AAA)
 Access, gaining, 57–58
 Action research, 17, 18, 20, 24–26
 Advocates, researchers as, 178
 Amalgamation approach (text organization), 235
 American Anthropological Association (AAA), 276
 Code of Ethics, 172
 American Association of Nursing, 276
 American Educational Research Association, 276
 American Sociological Association, 276
 Analysis. *See also* Data analysis
 in data transformation, 209
 in interviewing process, 134–135
 Analytic files, 189–191
 Analytic notes, 77–78
 Anonymity of research participants, 163
 Anthropology, history behind, 22
 Anticipatory quality of interviewers, 133–134
 Anxiety of interviewees, 122
 Archival materials and historical research, 82–83
 Artifacts, 81–85, 87
 Artist, writer as, 218–219, 223, 224
 Arts based research, 170–171, 243–270
 accountability and, 268–269
 autoethnographic approach, 258–261

ethnodramatic approach, 249–252
 fiction approach, 261–263
 poetics approach, 252–258
 purpose of, 246–248
 taking risks in, 269–270
 visual approach, 263–267
 Association of Internet Researchers, 164
 Authenticity criteria, 54
 Autoethnography, 20, 23–24, 258–261

B

Baba of Karo (Smith), 97
 Backyard research, 44–50
 Beginnings and endings (written reports), 240–242
 Bias, 174
 Biography, 23
Bird by Bird (Lamott), 225
 Blogs, 83, 126

C

CAQDAS (computer-assisted qualitative data analysis), 207–209
 Care and gratitude of interviewers, 135–136
 Case study, 289–290
 Catalyst for political action, 154
 Categorizing, 215
 “Cherokee Homeland,” 266
 Chicago School sociologists, 22
Children of Sanchez (Lewis), 162
 Chronology approach (text organization), 233
 “Classic Anthropology” period, 22
 Code and retrieve programs, 208

Code-based theory builders, 207
 Codebooks, 198
 Coding data, 195–198
 rudimentary schemes, 195–196
 Collaborative visual data, 89–90
 Collective biography, 288
 Collective case study, 289–290
 Colonial research, 131, 175–176
Color of Strangers, the Color of Friends, The (Peshkin), 229
 Commitment acts, 140
 Communitarianism, 180
 Community-based research, 25
 Community mapping, 89
 Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (CPSR), 164
 Computers
 overview of use, 207–209
 software, 207–209
 transcribing interview and observation notes onto, 195
 Conceptual framework, 34–38
 relevant literature, seeking, 34–35
 theory, use of, 35–37
Conceptualizing and Proposing Qualitative Research (Schram), 32
 Conceptual network builders, 208
 Concientization, 25
 Conferences on qualitative research, 276–278
 Confessional tales, 219
 Connecting to participants in fieldwork, 141–145
 Consent, 165
 Constant case comparison, 289
 Control of data, 190–193

- Convenience sampling, 51
 Conversational interviews, 96
 Conversation analysis, 184–185
 Covert participant observation, 92
 Covert research, 132
 CPSR (Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility), 164
 Crisis of representation, 219
 Critical theory, 7, 10–13
 critical ethnography, 17, 18
 critical feminist research, 12
 critical race theory, 11
 queer theory, 11
 Crystallization, 45
 Cultural bias in research ethical codes, 174
 Cultural considerations in researcher-researched relationships, 174
 Cultural interviewing, 97
 Cultural relativism, 174
D
 Dangerous knowledge, 49, 176, 177
 Data analysis, 183–215
 analytic files, 189–191
 coding data, 195–198
 combining with data collection, 189
 computer software, 207–209
 computer use, overview, 207–209
 considerations, 214–215
 conversation analysis, 184–185
 displaying data, 202–207
 maintaining control of data, 190–193
 making connections, 209–211
 memo writing, 189–190
 narrative analysis, 185–186
 reflections on analysis process, 214–215
 rudimentary coding schemes, 195–196
 semiotics, 186–188
 thematic analysis, 184
 trustworthiness of interpretations, 211–214
 varying forms of, 183–188
 Data collection, 45, 189
 Data production, 44
 Data recording, 44
 Data saturation, 194
Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil (Scheper-Hughes), 93
 Deception by omission, 179
 Decolonizing research, 176
 Deconstruction, 14, 154
Delight Makers, The (Bandelier), 261
 Delimitations, 213–214
 Dependency theory, 37
 Description in data transformation, 209, 210
 Descriptive notes, 74–77
 Diagrams and maps, 87, 89–90
 Diagrams displaying data, 203–204
 Diaries (research), 77–80
 Disengagement from field research, 93–94
 Displaying data, 202–207, 235
 Dissertation
 publication of, 279–280
 timetable (example), 56
 Document collection, 46
 Documents and artifacts, 81–85
 “Doing no harm” ethical stance, 159, 163
 Domain coding, 197
 Drafts and revisions of research paper, 230–231
 Drama, 229–252
 Dramatic styles in narratives, 186
Drinkers, Drummers, and Decent Folk: Ethnographic Narratives of Village Trinidad (Stewart), 262
E
Eats, Shoots & Leaves (Truss), 237
Elements of Style, The (Strunk and White), 237
 Embodiment, 290
 Emotional attachment to outcomes, 33
 Emotions coding, 198
 Emotion work, 150
 Empirical generalizations, 35
 Empiricism, 7
 Endings (written reports), 240–242
 Epistemology, 5, 6. *See also* Paradigms
 Ethics, 158–181
 confidentiality and focus groups, 126
 ethical codes, 171–175
 ethics of representation, 169–171
 informed consent, 161
 no easy solutions to dilemmas, 179–181
 researcher-researched relationship, 175–179
 researcher roles and, 49, 175–179
 use of photographs and videos, 88–89
 Ethnography, 89
 Ethnodrama, 249–252
 Ethnographic, defined, 21, 23
 Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Conference, 277
 Ethnographic novel or short story, 261–262
 Ethnography, 9, 17–18, 20, 21
 current, 23
 defined, 21, 23
 description of, 224
 historical context, 21–23
 narrative, 186
 Ethnomethodology, 9, 185
 Exploitation by researchers, 175–176
Extraordinary Lives (Zinsser), 223
 Extreme or deviant case sampling, 51

F

Facebook, 83
 Feedback, 112
 Feminist research, 12, 142–143, 149
 Feminist theory, 12
 Fieldnotes, 72–81
 advice on, 80–81
 analytic notes, 77–78
 descriptive notes, 74–77
 full fieldnotes, 73
 integrating into written report, 235, 236
 making notes, 72–74
 notebooks, 72–74, 212–213, 292–293
 research diary, 78–80
 Fieldwork, 1, 22
 early stage, 69–70
 relationships, 137–145
 taking breaks in, 141
 Fitting in, fieldwork setting, 137–140
 Focus groups, 96, 123–126
Focus Groups as Qualitative Research (Morgan), 123, 124
 Formal theory, 36
Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 278
 Frequency distributions, 206
 Friendship in the field, 141–145, 178–179
 “From Data to Text” (Holliday), 211
 Full fieldnotes, 73
 Full participant, 66

G

Gatekeepers, 57, 58
 General theory, 36
 Gestures, 71
 Goals, 39
 Going native, 141
 Grand tour question, 101
Grassroots Post-Modernism (Esteva and Prakash), 29
 Gratitude to interviewees, 135–136
 Grounded theory, 184, 288–289

Group interview, 123. *See also*
 Focus groups

H

Headnotes, 73
 Hermeneutics, 9
 Historical realism ontology, 11
 Historical research, 82–83
 Homogeneous sampling, 51

I

Idealists, 9
 Identity categories, 150
 Ideologies, distortion of reality, 11
 Indexing, 195
 Individualization of the self, 128
 Informed consent, 161
 Inhabited positions, 150
 Institutional Review Boards (IRBs), 58, 60
 principles guiding decisions, 171
 Instructional Support Team (IST), 209
 Instrumental case study, 289–290
 Integrating data in written reports, 235, 236
 Intellectual goals, 39–40
 International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, 277
 International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE), 278
 Internet
 focus groups online, 126
 privacy and, 164–166
 Interpretation. *See also* Data analysis
 in data transformation, 209
 separating narrative from, 234
 trustworthiness of analytical interpretations, 211–214
 Interpreter, writer as, 224
 Interpretivism, 6–10
 vs. positivist approach, 10
 possibilities of qualitative inquiry, 26
 thick description, 21
 traditions in qualitative research, 19–26
 Interpretivists, 20
 Intersubjectivity, 151
 Intervener/reformer role of researchers, 176–178
 Interviewer attributes, 109–116
 analytic, 134–135
 anticipatory, 133–134
 caring and grateful, 135–136
 learner, 134
 nonthreatening, 112
 patiently probing, 114–116
 Interview notes, 292–293
 Interview schedule, 97
 Interviews/interviewing, 45, 96–129
 co-constructing, 128
 considerations, 126–129
 focus group interviews, 123–126
 integrating into written report, 235, 236
 interaction, 96
 interview questions, 98–99, 104–105
 life history, 97
 mechanics of question development, 99–105
 nature of, 111–114
 occasions for reciprocity, 168–169
 vs. participant observation, 64
 quotes from, 230
 recording and transcribing, 116–119
 revising and piloting, 105–108
 setting up to interview, 109–111
 silence in, 114
 tracking, 120
 typical problems with interviews, 121–123

In the Realm of the Diamond

*Queen: Marginality in an
Out-of-Way Place* (Tsing),
241

"Intimacy in Research" (Busier
et al.), 179

Intrinsic case study, 289

J

Journals publishing qualitative
research, 278–279

K

Kinesis, 71

Knowing Children (Fine and
Sandstrom), 177

Knowledge, nature of, 5

L

Language and representation,
218–242

autoethnography, 258–261

drama, 249–252

poetic transcription, 253–254

researcher's language, 221

researcher's representations,
222–223

short story, 261–262

taking risks, 269–270

tale and the teller, 219–221

Laughing Boy (LaFarge), 261

Lay summary, 58–60

Leading questions, 101

Learner, interviewer as, 134

LEARNingLandscapes, 278

Life history research, 23–24

confidentiality and, 162

interviews, 97

Life stories, 287

Limitations of your study, 211

Linking, 195

Literature

relating study interests to,
through diagram, 37

review of, 34–38

Local facilitators, 106

Logical empiricism, 7

Logical positivism, 5, 8

M

*Making Stories, Making Selves:
Feminist Reflections on the
Holocaust* (Linden), 220

Man in the Principal's Office, The
(Wolcott), 235

Maps and diagrams, 87, 89–90

Material culture, 81

Mathematics, use in data
display, 206

Matrices displaying data,
203–204

Maximum variation sampling,
47, 51

Medical research, ethics of, 159

Member checking, 212

Memos (research), 32, 77

Memo writing, 189–190

Methodological theory, 35

Methodology, 16, 24

Methods, 16

Milgram shock experiment, 159

Mixed methods of research,
16–17

Moral commitments, 154

Moral obligation of researchers,
179–181

Multiple perspectives, 154

Multiple sites, 46–48

Myths, guiding, 68

N

Naïve learner, researcher as,
134

Narrative analysis, 185–186

Narrative and interpretation,
separating, 234

Narrative approach (text
organization), 234

Narrative ethnography, 186

Narrative research, 23, 287–288

Natural history approach (text
organization), 233

Netiquette, 164

New Zealand Maori

communities, code of

ethics for research,

158–176

Nonthreatening quality of
interviewer, 112

Nonverbal feedback, 112

Nonverbal representations,
263–267

Notebooks for fieldwork, 72–74,
212–213, 292–293

Notes. *See* Field notes

O

Objectivity, 136

Observational data, summary
of types, 91

Observations, 45, 46, 70–72. *See*
also Field notes; Participant
observation

privacy rights and, 161

Observer as participant, 65

Observer comments, 77

Omission, deception by, 179

Ontology, 6, 5

Open-ended "survey," 46

Oral history, 23, 97

Overidentification, 141

Overrapport, 141

P

Paradigms, research, 5–17

Participant observation, 46,
64–94

continuum in, 65–67

definitions of, 65

goals, 67–68

observational data, summary
of, 91

process, 68–81

visual data, documents, and
artifacts, 81–90

Participant observer's role, 88–89

anxiety as companion, 92–93

considerations, 93–94

disengaging, 93

gaining and losing self, 90–92

marginal or apprentice, 90–94

participating, 90, 92

preparation and flexibility, 92

Participants in study

selecting, 50–53

- visual data created or used by, 88–89
- Participatory action research (PAR), 25
- Participatory mapping, 89
- Peer review, 212
- Persistent observation, 153
- Personal context, 274–276
- Personal goals, 39
- Phenomenological research, 290–291
- Photo-elicitation, 88
- Photography, 81–85
- Photovoice, 89
- Pilot studies, 61–62
- Plainville, U.S.A. (West)*, 162
- Poetics, 252–258
- Poetic transcription, 253–254
- Portraiture work, 287
- Positionalities, 153
- Positions, and positionality, 151
- Positivism, 7, 8
 - vs. interpretivist approach, 10
- Postcolonialism, 13–14
- Postempiricism, 6, 7
- Postmodernism, 13
- Postmodernity, 13
- Postpositivism, 7, 8
- Poststructuralism, 6, 7, 13–14, 128
 - interview process and, 128
- Power
 - ethical codes and, 174
 - field relations and, 141–145
- Practical goals, 39
- Praxis, 11
- Presupposition questions, 101
- Primary documents, 83
- Privacy
 - Internet and, 164–166
 - rights of study participants, 161–164
 - visual research and, 165
- Probing in interviews, 114–116
- Problem statement, 38
- Prolonged engagement, 153
- Proposal for research, guide to developing, 31, 279
- Proxemics, 71
- Publishing research
 - manuscripts, 278–280
- Purposes of research, 38–40
- Q**
 - Qualitative data analysis
 - software web sites, 208
 - Qualitative Health Research Conference, 277
 - Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (Rubin and Rubin), 99
 - Qualitative research, 4, 9, 136
 - conclusions on, 284–285
 - creating deepening relationships, 283–284
 - guide for developing research proposal, 31, 279
 - interpretative traditions, 19–26
 - journals that publish, 278
 - using to learn about yourself, 281–283
 - Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Patton), 99
 - Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (Maxwell), 32
 - Qualitative researchers, becoming, 272–274
 - Qualitative research proposal
 - development guide, 31
 - Quantitative methods, 8
 - Quantitative research, 4
 - Queer theory, 11
- R**
 - Racism, critical race theory, 11, 12
 - Rapport in field relations, 137, 141
 - Realist tales, 222
 - Reality, nature of, 5
 - Reciprocity, 167–169
 - Reflexive journal, 293
 - Reflexive questions, 154–156
 - Reflexive Questions: Triangulated Inquiry* (Patton), 154
 - Reflexivity, 145–156, 219–220
 - emotion work, 150
 - positions, and positionality, 151
 - subjectivity, 146–150
 - Reformers, researchers as, 176–178
 - Relationships, creating through research, 283–284
 - Relationships in fieldwork, 136–145. *See also* Ethics
 - complicating and enriching dynamics, 141–145
 - establishing and maintaining relations, 137–141
 - reflexivity, 145–156
 - researcher-researched relationship, 175–179
 - Report from a Chinese Village* (Myrdal), 97
 - Representation. *See also* Language and representation
 - conundrum of, 219–223
 - depictions and interpretations, 222–223
 - ethics of, 169–171
 - Research
 - arts based (*See* Arts based research)
 - defined, 3
 - paradigms, 5–17
 - process, 280–281
 - purposes, 38–40
 - questions, 38–40
 - theoretical context, 17–19
 - Research diary, 78–80
 - Researcher-created visual data, 81–82, 86–88
 - Researcher-researched relationship, 175–179
 - cultural considerations, 174
 - deception by omission, 179
 - privacy and the Internet, 164–166

- privacy rights of participants, 161–164
 reciprocity, 167–169
 Researcher roles, 57–58, 131–136
 in backyard research, 48, 49
 ethical dilemmas and, 175–179
 Researcher's language, 221
 Researcher's representations, 222–223
 Research manuscript, 274–276
 getting published, 278–280
 possibilities of words, 274–275
 Research memos, 32
 Research proposal, guide for developing, 31, 279
 Research sites, 30
 multiple, 46–48
 selection of, 46–50
 Research statement and questions, 40–44
 Research summary, 58–60
 Research techniques, selecting, 44–46
 Research topic, 32–34
 Research writing
 crisis of representation, 219–223
 depictions and interpretations, 222–223
 drafts and revisions, 230–231
 mind-sets for approaching, 223–225
 researcher's language, 221
 roles of the writer, 218–221
 strategies, 225–231
 Responsibilities of the writer, 219–220
 Review of literature, 34–38
 relating study interests to, through diagram, 37
 Right to privacy of study participants, 161–164
 Roles of the researcher. *See* Researcher roles
- S**
- Science
 ethics of scientific research, 159
 history and philosophy of, 5
 Secondary sources, 83
 Self, individualization of, 128
 Semiotics, 186–188
 Semistructured interviewing, 96
 Short stories, 261–262
 Sign, 187
 Signifier and signified, 187
 Silence in interviews, 114
 Sites. *See* Research sites
 Small Town in Mass Society (Vidich and Bensman), 162
 Snowball, chain, or network sampling, 51
 Social code, 187
 Social constructions, 9
 Social context of narratives, 186
 Social science research, ethics of, 159
 Sociolinguistics, 185–186
 Stakeholders, 25
 Standpoint epistemologies, 11
 Structured interviews, 96
 The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, (Kuhn), 5
 Style in written reports, 232–242
 beginning and ending, 240–242
 integrating data, 235, 236
 specifics of style, 237–240
 variety in text organization, 232–236
 Subjective positions, 150
 Subjectivity, 146–150, 153. *See also* Reflexivity
 Substantive theories, 35
 Symbolic interactionism, 9
- T**
- Talley's Corner* (Liebow), 222
The Tao of Painting, 3
 Taxonomic coding, 197, 204
 Teacher research, 49
Testimonio, 288
 Text-based managers, 207
 Text organization, variety in, 232–236
 Text retrievers, 208
 Textual positioning, 151
 Textual strategies in representation, 269
 Theater (drama), 249–252
 Thematic analysis, 183, 187, 189–195
 Thematic approach (text organization), 233
 Theoretical context, 17–19, 35–37
 Theoretical sampling, 51, 289
 Theoretical saturation, 194
 Theoretical triangulation, 213
 Theory, 5–6, 35–37
 definitions for, 35–36
 Thick description, 21, 67
 Threads, 288
 Time frame for research, 54–57
 Topical interviewing, 97
 “The Touch Test,” 197
 Tracking interviews, 120
 Transformational validity, 154
 Transformer, writer as, 224–225
Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation (Wolcott), 209
Translated Woman (Behar), 220
 Translator, writer as, 224
 Triangulation, 44, 152
 Troubling the Angels: Women Living with HIV / AIDS (Lather and Smithies), 151
 Trust, 57
 building in field relations, 140–141
 rapport vs., 137
 Trustworthiness, 31, 53–54, 152–154
 of analytical interpretations, 211–214
 Tuskegee Syphilis Study, 159
 Typical case sampling, 51
- U**
- Unstructured or conversational interviews, 96
- V**
- The Vagina Monologues*, (Ensler), 252

- Validity of research, 31
 - Verbal feedback, 112
 - Videography, 87
 - Videotaping, 85–90
 - Virtual realms, observation and participation, 66–67
 - Visual Anthropology* (Collier and Collier), 86
 - Visual data, 85–90
 - collaboratively created and/or studied, 89–90
 - created by researcher, 81–82, 86–88
 - created or used by participants, 88–89
 - photography, video, maps, and diagrams, 81
 - Visual research, 165
- W**
- Web sites for qualitative data analysis software, 208
 - Writing, 218–242. *See also* Style
 - in written reports
 - as analysis, 213, 218
 - beginning and ending, 240–242
 - drafts and revisions, 230–231
 - getting started, 225–228
 - integrating data, 235, 236
 - keeping at it, 228–230
 - memos, 189–190
 - responsibilities of the writer, 219–220
 - roles of the writer, 218–221
 - specifics of style, 237–240
 - variety in text organization, 232–236
 - writer as transformer, 224–225
 - writer as translator, 224
- Z**
- Zoom lens approach (text organization), 233